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*See page 95.*



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## PREFACE.

THE primary aim of the "HISTORIC READER," like that of the "SCIENTIFIC READER," is to afford a more extended field of suitable reading for pupils in the higher classes of elementary schools. In addition to this, moreover, it has been sought to attain another, though by no means less important object, in its compilation, which must now be explained.

A school history of England, however admirably it may be adapted for its purpose, can at the best be nothing more than a simple chronicle of the chief events of each reign, and the principal personages who have taken part in them. We are told that a certain event happened, or that a certain thing was done, but as the limited size of the book forbids more than the briefest mention of the causes which were instrumental in bringing about the event or action, and the consequences which may be traced from it, the narrative from its brevity naturally loses much in descriptive force, colour, and general interest, that it would have possessed could it have been told at greater length. And again it is not one, possibly, in a hundred senior pupils at an elementary school who has the chance of getting a sight of Charles Knight's valuable "Popular History of England," or the "History of England" by Hume and Smollett, or any of the numerous histories of the individual reigns of some of our monarchs, or sections of our country's annals, that are separated from the times that precede and follow them by well defined landmarks. There is no cheap volume even that affords judicious selections of portions of histories such as those to which allusion has been made; and therefore to supply the manifest want of a school book of this kind, of convenient size, and of moderate price, the present volume has been produced.

The HISTORIC READER comprises a series of selections from various histories by writers of acknowledged reputation, extending from the Invasion of Britain, by Julius Cæsar, to the death of Queen Elizabeth—the last of the house of Tudor. To have extended the work over the whole period of English history to the present time would have made the volume too large and more expensive, or have compelled the adoption of extracts too short to be really useful. Under the circumstances, therefore, it has been thought better to choose the death of Elizabeth as a halting-place, and to reserve the remaining reigns for another volume if desired. One, and in some cases two or three important events or subjects, relating to the general state of society and the condition of the people, have been selected for illustration; and each passage illustrative of the event, &c., chosen, has been taken from the pages of a writer of eminence. In order to maintain the chain of history unbroken from beginning to end, a **Historical Epitome** of the events of each reign has been prefixed to the selected portion of history in immediate connection with the reign. The epitomes are written in such a manner that they may serve the double purpose of **Reading Lessons** and a **Chronological Summary of Events**; and thus while the HISTORIC READER, chiefly valuable for the selected reading lessons that it contains, is in no way intended as a substitute for any existing school history of England, it will serve as a sufficient remembrancer of the principal events in our country's story, when no school history better adapted for the purpose is at hand. In a word, although it is a collection of historic pictures of different scenes and events selected from different authors, the chain of history is preserved unbroken throughout the entire period over which these pictures are spread, from B.C. 55 to A.D. 1603.

Although many of the selections have been abridged, and slightly altered in some places from the originals, no liberty has been taken with the text that was not absolutely necessary.

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# THE MANCHESTER HISTORIC READER.

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## Division I.

FROM THE INVASION OF JULIUS CÆSAR TO THE DEATH  
OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

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### HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY CONTRASTED.

[*Abridged from some remarks on History and Biography in the prose writings of John Dryden, who is chiefly known as a poet and dramatic author. He was born at Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire, in August, 1631, and died May 1, 1700. He was buried in Westminster. He held the offices of poet laureate and royal historiographer from 1668 to 1688. His principal plays are "The Wild Gallant," "The Rival Ladies," and "The Indian Emperor;" and his principal prose work an "Essay on Dramatic Poetry." He was successful as a satirist, having written in this vein "Absalom and Achitophel," "The Medal," and "Mac Flecknoe." Among his other poems "The Hind and the Panther" and "Religio Laici" may be specially mentioned. He also produced metrical translations of the Æneid of Virgil and the Satires of Juvenal and Persius.*]

To commend History is unnecessary, for the profits and pleasure of that study are so very obvious that a quick reader will be beforehand with me and imagine faster than I can write. For my own part, who must confess it to my shame that I never read anything but for pleasure, it has always been the most delightful entertainment of my life; but they who have employed the study of it, as they ought, for their instruction, for the regulation of their private manners, and the management of public affairs, must agree with me that it is the most pleasant school of wisdom. It

is a familiarity with past ages and an acquaintance with all the heroes of them ; it is, if you will pardon the similitude, a prospective glass carrying your soul to a vast distance, and taking in the furthest objects of antiquity. It informs the understanding by the memory ; it helps us to judge of what will happen, by showing us the like revolutions of former times. For mankind being the same in all ages, agitated by the same passions, and moved to action by the same interests, nothing can come to pass but that some precedent of the like nature has already been produced ; so that, having the causes before our eyes, we cannot be deceived in the effects, if we have but judgment enough to draw the parallel.

God, it is true, with his divine providence overrules and guides all actions to the secret ends He has ordained for them ; but in the way of human causes, a wise man may easily discern that there is a natural connection betwixt them ; and though he cannot foresee accidents or things that possibly can come, he may apply examples, and by them foretell that from the like counsels will probably succeed the like events ; and thereby, in all concernments and all offices of life, be instructed in the two main points on which depend our happiness—that is, what to avoid and what to choose.

The laws of history, in general, are truth of matter, method, and clearness of expression. The first propriety is necessary to keep our understanding from the impositions of falsehood ; for history is an argument framed from many particular examples or inductions. If these examples are not true, then those measures of life which we take from them will be false, and deceive us in their consequence. The second is grounded on the former ; for if the method be confused, if the words or expressions of thought are anyway obscure, then the ideas which we receive must be imperfect ; and if such, we are not taught by them what to elect or what to shun. Truth, therefore, is required as the foundation of history to inform us—disposition and perspicuity as the manner to inform us plainly : one is the being, the other the well-being of it.

History is principally divided into these three species—



commentaries or annals ; history, properly so called ; and biography, or the lives of particular men.

Commentaries or annals are, as I may so call them, naked history, or the plain relation of matter of fact, according to the succession of time, divested of all other ornaments. The springs and motives of action are not here sought, unless they offer themselves and are open to every man's discernment. The method is the most natural that can be imagined, depending only on the observation of months and years, and drawing in the order of them whatsoever happened worthy of relation. The style is easy, simple, unforced, and unadorned with the pomp of figures ; counsels, guesses, politic observations, sentences, and orations are avoided : in few words, a bare narration is its business. Of this kind the "Commentaries" of Cæsar are certainly the most admirable, and after this the "Annals" of Tacitus may have place.

History, properly so called, may be described by the addition of those parts which are not required to annals, and therefore there is little further to be said concerning it, only that dignity and gravity of style is here necessary. That the guesses of secret causes inducing to the actions be drawn at least from the most probable circumstances, not perverted by the malignity of the author to sinister interpretations, but candidly laid down and left to the judgment of the reader ; that nothing of concernment be omitted, but things of trivial moment are still to be neglected as debasing the majesty of the work ; that neither partiality nor prejudice appear, but that truth may everywhere be sacred : that a historian should never dare to speak falsely, or fear to speak that which is true ; that he neither incline to superstition, in giving too much credit to oracles, prophecies, divinations, and prodigies, nor to irreligion in disclaiming the Almighty Providence ; but where general opinion hath prevailed of any miraculous accident or portent, he ought to relate it as such, without imposing his opinion on our belief.

Biography, or the history of particular men's lives, comes next to be considered, which, in dignity, is inferior to the other two, as being more confined in action, and treating

of wars and councils, and all other public affairs of nations, only as they relate to him whose life is written, or as his fortunes have a particular dependence on them or connection to them. All things here are circumscribed and driven to a point, so as to terminate in one ; consequently if the action or counsel were managed by colleagues, some part of it must be either lame or wanting, except it be supplied by the excursion of the writer. Herein likewise must be less of variety for the same reason, because the fortunes and actions of one man are related, not those of many.

Yet, though we allow, for the reasons above alleged, that this kind of writing is in dignity inferior to history and annals, in pleasure and instruction it equals, or even excels, both of them. It is not only commended by ancient practice to celebrate the memory of great and worthy men as the best thanks which posterity can pay them, but also the examples of virtue are of more vigour when they are thus contracted into individuals. The perfection of the work, in truth, and the benefit arising from it, are both more absolute in biography than in history. All history is only the precepts of moral philosophy reduced into examples. Moral philosophy is divided into two parts—ethics and politics. The first instructs us in our private offices of virtue ; the second in those which relate to the management of the Commonwealth. Both of these teach by argumentation and reasoning, which rush, as it were, into the mind, and possess it with violence ; but history rather allures than forces us to virtue. There is nothing of the tyrant in example ; but it gently glides into us, is easy and pleasant in its passage, and, in one word, reduces into practice our speculative notions. Therefore, the more powerful the examples are they are the more useful also, and by being more known they are more powerful.

Biography, or the history of particular lives, though circumscribed in the subject, is yet more extensive in style than the other two ; for it not only comprehends them both, but has somewhat superadded, which neither of them have. The style of it is various, according to the occasion. There are proper places in it for the plainness and nakedness of narration, which is ascribed to annals ; there is also

room reserved for the loftiness and gravity of general history, when the actions related shall require that manner of expression. But there is, withal, a descent into minute circumstances and trivial passages of life, which are natural to this way of writing, and which the dignity of the other two will not admit. The pageantry of life is taken away ; you see the poor reasonable animal as naked as ever nature made him ; are made acquainted with his passions and his follies ; and find the demigod a man.

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## I.—BRITAIN BEFORE THE TIME OF CÆSAR.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Julius Cæsar invaded Britain for the first time in the year 55 B.C., or fifty-five years before the birth of our Saviour. In Cæsar's "Commentaries" we find the earliest authentic records of our island and its inhabitants.

2. The country, which is now in a high state of cultivation, was then a wild and tangled wilderness of forest, thicket, down, and swamp, shared among tribes, fierce, intractable, and fond of war.

3. Each tribe was subject to a supreme chief, but every family of the tribe owed obedience to its head or ruler in domestic affairs, each having the power of life and death over his family and dependents.

4. They lived on the produce of their flocks and herds, flesh, milk, and cheese, and animals killed in hunting. The hare, goose, and fowl were forbidden food. Their dwellings were wattled huts roofed with the bark of trees, rushes, and reeds. The skins of beasts afforded a partial clothing to their tall fair bodies, painted with grotesque emblems, and stained blue with woad.

5. Their weapons were chiefly clubs and spears. They fought also from war chariots, with curved scythe-shaped blades of sharpened iron projecting from the axles. Their boats were frameworks of wicker covered with hides.

6. All classes bowed with humility and awe to the authority of the Druids, or priests, whose power was unlimited. They celebrated terrible rites, frequently sacrificing human victims in gloomy forests and open circular temples of unhewn stone. The remains of two of these temples may be seen at Stonehenge and Abury, in Wiltshire.

7. The Druids were also the lawgivers and judges of the people, and the instructors of the British youth. They were the historians, priests, poets, and philosophers of the period.

8. The Phœnicians are said to have traded with the tribes of Cornwall for tin. Britain is supposed to have been colonised in the first instance by the Celts who had crossed from Gaul or France.

### A ROMAN'S DESCRIPTION OF BRITAIN AND THE BRITISH.

*[From the "Commentaries" of Caius Julius Cæsar, the great Roman general, whose conquests and the ascendancy he gained thereby over the army paved the way for the conversion of the Roman republic into an empire after his assassination, B.C. 44. He invaded Britain, though with little success, in the years 55 and 54 B.C.]*

The interior portion of Britain is inhabited by those of whom they say that it is handed down by tradition that they were born in the island itself; the maritime portion by those who had passed over from the country of the Belgæ for the purpose of plunder and making war, almost all of whom are called by the names of the states in which they were born and from which they went thither, and having established themselves by force of arms, continued there and began to cultivate the land. The number of the people is countless, and their buildings exceedingly numerous, for the most part very like those of the Gauls: the number of cattle is also great. They use either brass or iron rings, determined at a certain weight, as their money. Tin is produced in the midland regions, and iron in the districts on the coast, but the quantity of it is small: the brass which they use is imported. There is, as in Gaul, timber of every description except beech and fir. They do not consider it lawful to eat the hare, the fowl, or the goose; they breed them, however, for amusement and pleasure. The climate is more temperate than in Gaul, the cold being less severe.

The island is triangular in form, and one of its sides is opposite to Gaul. One angle of this side, which is in Kent, whither almost all the ships from Gaul are directed, is

turned towards the east ; the other is turned to the south. This side extends about 500 miles. Another side lies towards Spain, and the west, on which part is Ireland, less than Britain by one-half as it is reckoned ; but the passage from it into Britain is of equal distance with that from Gaul. In the middle of this voyage is an island which is called Mona (Isle of Man) ; many smaller islands besides are supposed to lie there, of which islands some have written that at the time of the winter solstice it is night there for thirty consecutive days. We, in our inquiries about that matter, ascertained nothing, except that by accurate measurements with water, we perceived the nights to be shorter there than on the continent. The length of this side, as their account states, is 700 miles. The third side is towards the north, to which portion of the island no land is opposite, but an angle of that side looks principally towards Germany. This side is considered to be 800 miles in length. Thus the whole island is 2,000 miles in circumference.

The most civilised of all these nations are they who inhabit Kent, which is entirely a maritime district, nor do they differ much from the Gauls in customs. Most of the inhabitants of the interior do not sow corn, but live on milk and flesh and are clad with skins. All the Britons, indeed, dye themselves with woad, which imparts to the skin a bluish colour, and thereby they have a more terrible appearance in battle. They wear their hair long, and have every part of their body shaved except the head and upper lip. Ten and even twelve have wives common to them, and particularly brothers among brothers, and parents among their children ; but if there be any issue by these wives the children are reputed to be the offspring of those by whom respectively each was first espoused.

Their mode of fighting with their chariots is this : firstly, they drive about in all directions and throw their weapons, and generally break the ranks of the enemy with the very dread of their horses and the noise of their wheels ; and when they have worked themselves in between the troops of horse they leap from their chariots and engage on foot. The charioteers in the meantime withdraw some little

distance from the battle, and so place themselves with the chariots that if their masters are overpowered by the enemy they have a ready retreat to their own troops. Thus they display in battle the speed of horse-soldiers combined with the firmness of foot-soldiers; and by daily practice and exercise attain to such expertness that they are accustomed, even on a steep incline, to check their horses at full speed, and manage and turn them in an instant, and run along the pole and stand on the yoke, and thence betake themselves with the utmost rapidity to their chariots again.

#### ANOTHER ROMAN'S ACCOUNT OF BRITAIN.

[*From the "Agricola" of Caius Cornelius Tacitus, a Roman historian who wrote the "Annals," and other works, and was famous for his oratorical powers. The treatise called "Agricola" is a sketch of the life and services of his father-in-law, Caius Julius Agricola, who was viceroy or governor of Britain from A.D. 78 to 84. Tacitus was born about 53, and died about 130.*]

Britain, the largest of all the islands which have come within the knowledge of the Romans, stretches on the east towards Germany, and on the west towards Spain, while on the south it is even within sight of Gaul. Its northern extremity has no land opposite to it, but is washed by a wide and open sea. Some writers have likened the figure of Britain to an oblong target or two-headed axe; and this is in reality its appearance, exclusive of Caledonia, whence it has been popularly attributed to the whole island. But that tract of country stretching out to an immense length towards the furthest shore is gradually contracted in the form of a wedge.

Who were the first inhabitants of Britain, whether natives, or settlers from other countries, is a question involved in the obscurity usual among barbarians. Their temperament of body is various, whence deductions are formed of their different origin. Thus the red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians point out a German derivation. The swarthy complexion and the curling hair of the Silures (the tribe which occupied what is now called Monmouthshire and Herefordshire) render it probable that

a colony of the Iberi (the ancient Spaniards) possessed themselves of that territory. They who are nearest Gaul resemble the inhabitants of that country, whether from the duration of hereditary influence, or whether it be that where lands jut forward in opposite directions climate gives the same condition of body to the inhabitants of both. On a general survey, however, it appears probable that the Gauls originally took possession of the neighbouring coast.

The sacred rites and superstitions of these people may be discerned among the Britons. The languages of the two nations do not greatly differ. The same audacity in provoking danger and irresolution in facing it is to be observed in both. The Britons, however, display more ferocity, not being yet softened by a long peace, for it appears from history that the Gauls were once renowned in war, till, losing their valour with their liberty, languor and indolence entered among them. The same change has also taken place among those of the Britons who have been long subdued, but the rest continue such as the Gauls formerly were.

Their military strength consists in infantry ; some tribes also make use of chariots in war, in the management of which the most honourable person guides the reins while his dependents fight from the chariot. The Britons were formerly governed by kings, but at present they are divided into factions and parties among their chiefs ; and this want of union for concerting some general plan is the most favourable circumstance to us in our designs against so powerful a people. It is seldom that two or three communities concur in repelling the common danger, and thus, while they engage singly, they are all subdued.

The sky in this country is deformed by clouds and frequent rains, but the cold is never extremely rigorous. The length of day greatly exceeds that in our part of the world. The nights are bright, and at the extremity of the island so short that the close and return of day is scarcely distinguished by a perceptible interval. It is even asserted that when clouds do not intervene the splendour of the sun is visible during the whole night, and that it does not appear to rise and set, but to move across. The cause of

this is, the extreme and flat parts of the earth, casting a low shadow, do not throw up the darkness, and so night falls between the sky and the stars.

The soil, though unfit for the olive, the vine, and other productions of warmer climates, is fertile and suitable for corn. Growth is quick, but ripening slow, both from the same cause—the great humidity of the ground and the atmosphere. The earth yields gold and silver and other metals, the rewards of victory. The ocean produces pearls, but of a cloudy and livid hue, which some impute to unskilfulness in the gatherers ; for in the Red Sea the fish are plucked from the rocks alive and vigorous, but in Britain they are collected as the sea throws them up. For my own part, I can more readily conceive that the defect is rather in the nature of the pearls than in our avarice.

The Britons cheerfully submit to levies, tributes, and other services of government if they are not treated injuriously ; but such treatment they bear with impatience, their subjection only extending to obedience, not servitude.

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## II.—BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

B.C. 55—A.D. 420.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. The first invasion of Britain by the Romans, under Julius Cæsar, took place B.C. 55. A landing was effected at Richborough, near Sandwich, Kent. The injuries caused to his ships by storms and the high tides, and the obstinate resistance of the Britons, rendered Cæsar willing to make peace with them and withdraw his troops soon after his landing.

2. In B.C. 54, the invasion was renewed. Cæsar marched through a great part of the south-east of the island, and again withdrew, after defeating Cassivelaunus and rendering Britain tributary to the Roman empire.

3. For more than eighty years the Britons were unmolested by the Romans, who took no steps to exact the tribute imposed by Cæsar. In A.D. 40, Caligula led an army into Britain, but returned after gathering a few shells on the sea-coast.

4. In A.D. 43, Claudius and his lieutenant-general, Aulus Plautius, subdued the south of Britain, and the latter remained



in the island as governor for some years. His successor Ostorius Scapula, defeated Caractacus, who had excited the Britons to rebellion against the Romans, in A.D. 50. Caractacus was sent a prisoner to Rome with his family.

5. In A.D. 60, Christianity was introduced into Britain by Roman converts, who settled in the country.

6. Suetonius Paulinus took possession of Anglesea [A.D. 61], whither the Druids and a number of Britons had retreated. The severity of the Romans excited a general rebellion. Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, massacred the settlers at Camalodunum (now Colchester), defeated the Roman troops, and destroyed London. She was then defeated by Suetonius Paulinus, and killed herself with poison.

7. Agricola, who was sent into Britain [A.D. 78] by Vespasian, promoted civilisation and the arts of peace. He made great roads through the island, and protected the northern portion from the inroads of the Caledonians, by building a wall from the Clyde to the Forth [A.D. 81]. Three years after [A.D. 84], Agricola totally defeated the Caledonians under Galgacus.

8. The Emperor Hadrian visited Britain in A.D. 120, and built a wall from the Solway to the Tyne, to defend the northern districts from the invasions of the Caledonians. After his death the power of the Romans began to be weakened; but Severus [A.D. 207] entered Britain and drove back the Caledonians. He rebuilt the wall of Hadrian, and died at York [A.D. 211].

9. Soon after, the pirates of the north countries landed at various places in the north of the island. Carausius defeated them [A.D. 286], assumed the title of Emperor of Britain, and was killed at York by Allectus [A.D. 297].

10. Allectus was defeated and slain by Constantius, who succeeded Diocletian as emperor, and died at York [A.D. 306]. Under his government, Alban, the first Christian martyr in Britain, was put to death, in the persecution of the Christians ordered by Diocletian.

11. The Caledonians, now called Picts and Scots, pushed their predatory incursions far into the interior of Britain, after the death of Constantine, the son of Constantius [A.D. 337]. They were defeated and driven back by Theodosius [A.D. 343], and by Maximus [A.D. 382].

12. About this period the invasion of the Roman empire by the Goths, Vandals, and other German tribes commenced, and the greater part of the Roman troops were recalled from Britain [A.D. 403].

13. As Marcus was chosen emperor by the Britons [A.D. 407], who rose in rebellion against the Roman authorities left in charge of the province, Honorius refused to provide troops for the protection of the country from external foes, and gave up all claim to Britain as part of the empire [A.D. 410]. Marcus was succeeded by Constantine [A.D. 411].

14. The Britons, harassed by the incessant inroads of the Picts and Scots, applied to Ætius for aid [A.D. 415], and a legion was sent to their assistance.

15. The Romans once more drove back the barbarians of the north, and again repaired the wall of Hadrian or Severus. Shortly after [A.D. 420], the Roman troops were entirely withdrawn from the island, the Britons were left to their own resources, and the connection of Britain with Rome, as a dependency of the Roman empire, was broken off for ever.

#### THE REVOLT OF BOADICEA.

*[Abridged and slightly altered from the translation of the Epitome of the History of Dion Cassius, by John Xiphilinus, in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica." John Xiphilinus, who flourished in the latter part of the 11th century, was the nephew of a Patriarch of Constantinople of the same name, and who held this high office from 1066 to 1075. The Epitome of Dion Cassius, which he wrote by order of the Emperor Michael Ducas, is valuable as a means of supplying a large part of the historical facts recorded in those parts of the writings of Dion Cassius which are lost].*

While Nero trifled at Rome, a dreadful calamity happened in Britain, for two cities were destroyed, eighty thousand of the Romans or their allies were slain, and the island became in a state of insurrection. And the more to increase their shame, all this calamity was brought upon them by a woman. Indeed, the Divinity had in some measure foreboded this disaster; for in the night a barbaric murmuring, attended with laughter, was heard from the senate-house, and a muttering with lamentation from the theatre, although there was no human being either to clamour or bewail. Certain dwellings also appeared under water in the river Thames, and the ocean between the island and Gaul flowed with blood at the time of high tide.

The cause of the war was the sale of property, which

Claudius had given up to their chiefs, and which Decianus Catus, the prefect of the island, said it was necessary should be recalled. And to this was added that Seneca having lent them, against their will, a thousand myriads of money, in expectation of interest, suddenly and violently called in his loan. She, however, who chiefly excited and urged them to fight against the Romans was Boadicea, who was deemed worthy to command them, and who led them in every battle—a Briton of royal race, and breathing more than female spirit. Having collected, therefore, an army to the number of about one hundred and twenty thousand, she, after the Roman custom, ascended a tribunal made of marshy earth. She was of the largest size, most terrible of aspect, most savage of countenance, and harsh of voice, having a profusion of yellow hair which fell down to her hips, and wearing a large golden collar. She had on a party-coloured vest drawn close about her bosom, and over this she wore a thick mantle connected by a clasp. Such was her usual dress; but at this time she also bore a spear, that thus she might appear more formidable to all; and she spoke after this manner:—

“You must be convinced by experience how much freedom surpasses slavery; for if any of you formerly, through ignorance of which might be the better, have been deceived by the seducing promises of the Romans, now, having tried both, you must have learned how much you have erred in esteeming slavery of your own seeking preferable to the usage of your country; and you must have felt how superior is poverty with liberty to opulence with thralldom; for what, indeed, is there more base, what more grievous, that we have not suffered since these men cast their eyes on Britain? Have we not been despoiled of all our best and amplest possessions? Do we not pay tribute for the remainder? Do we not, in addition to both pasturing our cattle and tilling the ground for them, pay also a yearly tribute even of our very bodies? And how much better were it to be sold to slavery once for all, than to be ransomed year after year, under the delusive name of liberty? How much better to be slain outright and perish than to bear about a head subject to perpetual tribute? But why

say I this, when even to die is not unattended with some claim on their part? for you are aware of what we pay even for the deceased. Among other men, indeed, death liberates the slave altogether; but to the Romans alone the very dead survive for the purposes of lucre; and, moreover, if none of us possess money (and how and whence can we possess it?) we are stripped and spoiled like those who are slain. And what consideration can we expect in future, when even at the very outset, a time when all men treat with kindness even the beasts they have taken, we have been thus used by them?

“I say these things not that you may abhor the present circumstances, for you have long abhorred them, nor that you may dread those that are future, for you have long dreaded them—but that I may applaud you for choosing of yourselves to do all that behoves you, and thank you that you readily succour both me and yourselves. Dread not the Romans in anywise, for they are neither more in number nor braver than ourselves: and the proof is that you are armed with helmets, breastplates, and greaves, and moreover are provided with stockades, and walls, and ditches, so as no longer to suffer from the secret incursions of the enemy, for such they prefer making, through their fears, to fighting, as we do, openly: indeed, we are endowed with courage so superior that we deem our tents more secure than their walls, and our shields a better defence than their complete armour. Wherefore, when superior in battle, we capture them; when defeated we flee far away; and if we choose to retreat to any place, we hide ourselves in marshes and mountains, where we can neither be discovered nor taken; whereas they, from the weight of their armour, are neither able to pursue others nor to escape themselves; and should they at any time effect their escape, they could fly only to places well known, and there be enclosed as in a toil. In such things, therefore, they are far inferior to us, as well as in these, that they can endure neither hunger nor thirst, nor cold nor heat, as we do; moreover, they stand so much in need of shade and shelter, pounded corn, wine, and oil, that if one of these things fail them they perish; while to us every herb and root is food,

every juice is oil, every stream is wine, and every tree a house. Again, to us these places are familiar and friendly, to them strange and hostile ; we swim the rivers naked, they can hardly pass them in boats. Wherefore, confiding in our good fortune, let us go against them, and let us show them that, being hares and foxes, they strive for the mastery over dogs and wolves."

Having thus spoken she let loose a hare from her bosom, using it as a kind of omen, and when it ran propitiously for them, the whole multitude, rejoicing, gave a shout, and Boadicea, extending her hand towards heaven, and invoking the British goddess of victory, exclaimed : "I give thee thanks, Andraste, and I a female, invoke thee, a female also, ruling over British men, unskilled, indeed, in husbandry or handicraft, but who, having thoroughly learned to fight, deeming all other things common, and even children and wives common also, who, in consequence, display equal courage with their husbands. Reigning, therefore, over such men and women, I pray and entreat thee for victory, and security, and liberty, in their behalf, against men who are revilers, unjust, insatiable, impious."

Having thus harangued, Boadicea led her army against the Romans, who were at that time without a chief, because Paulinus, their commander, was warring against Mona (Anglesey), a certain island adjacent to Britain. Wherefore she overthrew and plundered two Roman cities, and there, as I have said, wrought indescribable slaughter : and as to the captives, both male and female, there was nothing of the most dreadful kind which was not inflicted upon them. And these cruelties were practised in mockery, while they were sacrificing and banqueting in their several sacred places, but more especially in the grove of Andraste, for so they denominated Victory, whom they venerated supremely.

But it happened that Paulinus had now subdued Mona, and, having heard of the disaster in Britain, he forthwith sailed back thither from Mona. He was unwilling, indeed, to risk the chance of a battle immediately against the barbarians, dreading their number and fury ; wherefore he deferred the conflict to a more fitting opportunity. But

when he was in want of provisions, and the barbarians, pressing forward, allowed him no respite, he was compelled to attack them contrary to his intention. Boadicea, therefore, having an army amounting to two hundred and thirty thousand men, herself rode on a car, and drew up the others singly. Paulinus, however, was neither able to extend his phalanx in opposition to them—for he could not have equalled them had he drawn up his men singly, so much inferior were they in number—nor did he dare to engage in one compact body, lest he should be surrounded and cut to pieces. He therefore divided his army into three bodies, that they might fight in several places at once, and closed up each of the divisions in such wise that they could not be broken through.

Having drawn up and posted his men, and exhorted each body to do their duty bravely as Roman soldiers, he raised the signal for battle ; and immediately they advanced towards each other, the barbarians with loud clamour and songs of defiance, but the Romans with silence and order, until they came within a javelin's cast ; when the enemy now proceeding slowly onward, they gave the signal altogether, according to previous arrangement, and rushed violently upon them, and in the shock easily broke through their array ; then, being hemmed in by the multitude, they fought desperately at the same time on all sides. Their conflict was various, for it was thus : Here light-armed opposed light-armed ; there heavy-armed contended with heavy-armed ; horse encountered horse ; and the Roman archers fought against the chariots of the barbarians, who, falling on the Romans, overthrew them with the rushing of their chariots ; and these, as their men were fighting without breast-plates, were driven back by the flights of arrows ; horseman discomfited footman, and footman overthrew horseman ; some, in compact bodies, dashed against the chariots, others dispersed by them ; some, advancing in troops against the archers, put them to flight ; others saved themselves by keeping aloof ; and this occurred not in one, but in three several places at once. For a long while each contended with equal spirit and boldness. Finally, though late, the Romans conquered : they killed numbers in the

flight and near the wagons, and in a wood ; they also took many alive. Great numbers, too, escaped, and made ready again as if for battle. But about this time Boadicea, dying by disease, they bewailed her sorely, and buried her with great funeral splendour ; and, as if they were now really discomfited, they became completely dispersed.

### THE END OF ROMAN RULE IN BRITAIN.

[*Translated from the "Historia Ecclesiastica," or "Ecclesiastical History," of the Venerable Bede, a famous English monk of Jarrow, who lived from 672 to 735, and was remarkable for his knowledge of the early history of Britain. He wrote a great number of works, and translated the Gospel according to St. John, and other writings into Anglo-Saxon.*]

From that time the south part of Britain being left destitute of armed soldiers, of all sorts of martial stores, and of all its active youth, which, being led away by the rashness of tyrants, never returned home, was wholly exposed to rapine, as being totally ignorant of the use of weapons. At length, on a sudden, it groaned and languished many years under two very savage nations—the Scots from the west, and the Picts from the north. We call these foreign nations, not for their being seated out of Britain, but because remote from that part of it which was possessed by the Britons, two inlets of the sea lying betwixt them, one of which runs in far and broad into the lands of Britain from the eastern ocean, and the other from the western, although they do not reach to touch one another. The eastern has in the midst of it the city Guidi. The western has on it, that is, on the right hand thereof, the city Alcluith, which, in their language, signifies the rock Cluith, for it is close by the river of that name.

On account of the irruptions of these nations, the Britons sending messengers to Rome with letters in mournful manner, prayed for succour and promised perpetual subjection, provided that the impending enemy might be driven further off. An armed legion was immediately sent them, which, arriving in the island and engaging the

enemy, slew a great multitude of them, drove the rest out of the territory of the allies ; and having delivered them from most cruel oppression, advised to build a wall between the two seas, across the island, that it might secure them and keep off the enemy ; and thus they returned home with great triumph.

The islanders raising the wall they had been directed, not of stone, but sods, as having no artist capable of such work, made it of no use. However they drew it for many miles between the two bays or inlets of the sea we have spoken of ; to the end that where the defence of the water was wanting, they might defend their borders from the irruptions of the enemies by the help of the rampart. Of which work there erected, that is, of a rampart of extraordinary breadth and height, there are evident remains to be seen to this day. It begins at almost two miles distance from the monastery of Æbencuring, on the west, at the place in the Pictish language called Peanfahel, but in the English tongue Pennelture, and running to the eastward, ends by the city Alcluith.

But the former enemies, when they perceived that the Roman soldiers were gone, immediately coming by sea, broke into the borders, bearing down all before them, and, as if it had been ripe corn mowed, trampled and overran all places. Hereupon messengers are again sent to Rome, imploring aid in a mournful manner lest their wretched country should be utterly extirpated, and the name of a Roman province so long renowned among them, being overthrown by the wickedness of foreign nations, might grow contemptible. A legion is sent again, which, arriving unexpectedly in autumn, made great slaughter of the enemy, obliging all those who could escape to fly beyond the seas, whereas before they were wont yearly to carry off their booty without any opposition.

Then the Romans declared to the Britons that they could not for the future undertake such troublesome expeditions for their sake, advising them rather to handle their weapons and undertake the charge of engaging their enemies, who would not prove more powerful than themselves, unless they were dejected with cowardice ; and in



regard that they thought it might be some help to their allies, whom they designed to abandon, they built a strong stone wall from sea to sea, in a straight line, between the town that had been built there for fear of the enemy, and where Severus had cast up the trench. The which wall, still famous and to be seen, they built at the public and private expense, being assisted by a number of Britons, eight feet in breadth and twelve in height, in a straight line from east to west, as is still visible to beholders. That being finished they gave that dispirited people notable advice with patterns to furnish them with arms. Besides they built towers on the sea coast to the southward, at proper distances, where their ships were, because there also the irruptions of the barbarians were apprehended, and so took leave of their friends as never to return again.

They being gone home, the Scots and Picts understanding that they had declared they would come no more, speedily returned, and growing more confident than they had been before, secured to themselves all the northern and farthest part of the island as far as the wall. Hereupon a timorous guard was placed upon the top of the wall, where they pined away day and night with fearful hearts. On the other side the enemy plied them with hooked weapons, by which the cowardly defenders being miserably dragged off the wall, were dashed against the ground. In short, forsaking their cities and wall they fled and were dispersed. The enemy pursues, the slaughter increases, more cruel than all the former, for the wretched natives were torn in pieces by their enemies as lambs are by wild beasts. Thus being expelled their dwellings and small possessions, they tried to ward off the danger of famishing, which was imminent, by robbing and plundering one another, adding to their calamities occasioned by foreigners by their domestic broils, till the whole country was left destitute of all sorts of food except the support of wild beasts.

The domination of Rome over Britain lasted from the first invasion of the island by Cæsar, B.C. 55, to the final withdrawal of the Roman troops in the time of Honorius, about 420. It lasted for about 475 years.

## PART II.—BRITAIN UNDER THE SAXONS.

(421—1066.)

## I.—THE SAXON HEPTARCHY.

## HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. In the distress occasioned by the incessant inroads of the Picts and Scots, Vortigern, a British prince, proposed to his countrymen to call to their aid the Saxons, a piratical people inhabiting the southern shores of the Baltic Sea.

2. Accordingly Hengist and Horsa, brothers, and Saxon chiefs of renown, landed in Britain (449). After defeating the Picts and Scots, they concluded treaties of alliance with the Britons, and received the Isle of Thanet as a reward for their services.

3. The Saxons, having gained a footing in the island, soon turned their arms against the Britons, whom they defeated at Stonehenge. Hengist then established the kingdom of Kent--the first of the seven kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy (473).

4. Encouraged by Hengist's success, fresh bands of Saxons crossed the North Sea; and Ella founded the kingdom of Sussex (491), and Cerdic and Cynric that of Wessex (519) along the south coast of England.

5. Escwin, or Ercenwine, founded the kingdom of Essex (527). The Britons were then compelled to retreat into Wales and Cornwall, where Arthur, who held his court at Tintagel, fell in fighting against the invaders (542).

6. The kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira, united soon after their formation under the common name of Northumbria, were founded, the former by Ida (547), the latter by Ella (560). East Anglia was occupied by Uffa (571), and the remaining midland districts of Britain, Wales excepted, were erected into the kingdom of Mercia (585) by Crida.

7. The seven kingdoms of the Heptarchy were severally subject to their own kings, and jointly to the most powerful of these princes for the time being, who took the title of Bretwalda, or Wielder of the Sovereign Power in Britain.

8. The ancient British Church, established in the time of the Romans, had been nearly destroyed by the Saxons, who were, however, converted to Christianity by the teaching of Augustine and forty monks, sent into Britain by Pope Gregory I. (597).

9. The University of Cambridge was founded by Sebert, king of Essex, in 604, about which time the Bretwalda was styled

King of the Angles, and the country itself Anglia, which soon merged into the more familiar sound of Angles-land, or England.

10. The Danes, who had already appeared in Ireland, began their attacks on England in 787. Egbert, king of Wessex (800), after a long struggle, totally defeated the Danes at Hengist-down, in Cornwall, in 815, and for some years after they ceased to trouble England.

11. Egbert then determined to assert his power and sovereignty over the whole country. He reduced Kent, Essex, and East Anglia in 823, Sussex and Mercia in 825, and Northumbria in 829, when he became the first Saxon king of England.

12. Towards the end of his reign the Danes renewed their attacks, but were defeated by Egbert at Charmouth in 833. In 836 Egbert died, and was succeeded by his son Ethelwulf.

### HOW THE SAXONS ESTABLISHED THEMSELVES IN ENGLAND.

[From a "History of England" by the eminent statesman, orator, and essayist, Edmund Burke, who was born in Dublin January 1, 1730, and died at Beaconsfield July 9, 1797. He entered the House of Commons in 1766, and from that time to his death he took a prominent part in public affairs, and especially in the prosecution of Warren Hastings, for mal-practices while governor-general of India. His writings and political pamphlets are numerous, but his "Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful," which first brought him into notice, is perhaps the best of his miscellaneous productions. He was the editor of the early volumes of the "Annual Register."]

After having been so long subject to a foreign dominion, there was among the Britons no royal family, no respected order in the state, none of those titles to government confirmed by opinion and long use, more efficacious than the wisest schemes for the settlement of the nation. Mere personal merit was then the only pretence to power. But this circumstance only added to the misfortunes of a people who had no orderly method of election, and little experience of merit in any of the candidates. During this anarchy, while they suffered the most dreadful calamities from the fury of barbarous nations which invaded them, they fell into that disregard of religion, and those loose, disorderly manners which are sometimes the consequence of desperate

and hardened wretchedness, as well as the common distempers of ease and prosperity.

At length, after frequent elections and deposings, rather wearied out by their own inconstancy than fixed by the merits of their choice, they suffered Vortigern to reign over them. This leader had made some figure in the conduct of their wars and factions; but he was no sooner settled on the throne than he showed himself rather like a prince born of an exhausted stock of royalty in the decline of empire, than one of those bold and active spirits whose manly talents obtain them the first place in the country, and stamp upon it that character of vigour essential to the prosperity of a new commonwealth. However, the mere settlement, in spite of the ill administration of government, procured the Britons some internal repose, and some temporary advantage over their enemies, the Picts. But having been long habituated to defeats, relying neither on their king nor on themselves, and fatigued with the obstinate attacks of an enemy whom they sometimes checked, but never could remove, it was resolved, in one of their national assemblies, to call in the mercenary aid of the Saxons, a powerful nation of Germany, which had been long, by their piratical incursions, terrible not only to them but to all the adjacent countries. This resolution has been generally condemned. It has been said that, through mere cowardice, they seem to have distrusted a strength not yet worn down, and a fortune sufficiently prosperous. But as it was taken by general counsel and consent, we must believe that the necessity for such a step was felt, though the event was dubious. The event indeed might be dubious. In a state radically weak, every measure vigorous enough for its protection must endanger its existence.

There is an unquestioned tradition among the northern nations of Europe, importing that all that part of the world had suffered a great and general revolution by a migration from Asiatic Tartary of a people whom they called Asers. These everywhere expelled and subdued the ancient inhabitants of the Celtic and Cimbric original. The leader of this Asiatic army was called Odin, or Woden,

first their general and afterwards their tutelar deity. The time of this great change is lost in the imperfection of traditionary history and the attempts to supply it by fable. It is, however, certain that the Saxon nation believe themselves to be the descendants of those conquerors; and they had as good a title to that descent as any other of the northern tribes, for they used the same language which was then, and is still, spoken with small variations of the dialect in all the countries which extend from the Polar Circle to the Danube. This people most probably derive their name as well as their origin from the Sacæ, a nation of Asiatic Scythia. At the time of which we write they had settled themselves in the Cimbric Chersonesus, or Jutland, in the countries of Holstein and Sleswick, and thence extended along the Elbe and Weser to the coast of the German Ocean, as far as the mouths of the Rhine. In that tract they lived in a sort of loose military commonwealth of the ordinary German model under several leaders, the most eminent of whom was Hengist, descended from Odin, the great conductor of the Asiatic colonies. It was to this chief that the Britons applied themselves. They invited him by a promise of ample pay for his troops, a large share of their common plunder, and the Isle of Thanet for a settlement.

The army which came over under Hengist did not exceed fifteen hundred men. The opinion which the Britons had entertained of the Saxon prowess was well founded, for they had the principal share in a decisive victory which was obtained over the Picts soon after their arrival—a victory which for ever freed the Britons from all terror of the Picts and Scots, but in the same moment exposed them to an enemy no less dangerous.

Hengist and his Saxons, who had obtained by the free vote of the Britons that introduction into this island which they had so long in vain attempted by arms, saw that by being necessary they were superior to their allies. They discovered the character of the king; they were eye-witnesses of the internal weakness and distraction of the kingdom. This state of Britain was represented with so much effect to the Saxons in Germany that another and


much greater embarkation followed the first: new bodies daily crowded in. As soon as the Saxons began to be sensible of their strength they found it their interest to be discontented; they complained of breaches of contract which they construed according to their own designs; and then fell rudely upon their unprepared and feeble allies, who, as they had not been able to resist the Picts and Scots, were still less in a condition to oppose that force by which they had been protected against those enemies when turned unexpectedly upon themselves. Hengist, with very little opposition, subdued the province of Kent, and there laid the foundation of the first Saxon kingdom. Every battle the Britons fought only prepared them for a new defeat, by weakening their strength and displaying the inferiority of their courage. Vortigern, instead of a steady and regular resistance, opposed a mixture of timid war and unable negotiation. In one of their meetings, wherein the business, according to the German mode, was carried on amidst feasting and riot, Vortigern was struck with the beauty of a Saxon maiden, a kinswoman of Hengist, and entirely under his influence. Having married her he delivered himself over to her counsels.

His people harassed by their enemies, betrayed by their prince, and indignant at the feeble tyranny that oppressed them, deposed him and set his son Vortimer in his place. But the change of king proved no remedy for the exhausted state of the nation and the constitutional infirmity of the government: for even if the Britons could have supported themselves against the superior abilities and efforts of Hengist it might have added to their honour, but would have contributed little to their safety. The news of his success had roused all Saxony. Five great bodies of that adventurous people, under different and independent commanders, very nearly at the same time broke in upon as many different parts of the island. They came no longer as pirates but as invaders. Whilst the Britons contended with one body of their fierce enemies another gained ground and filled with slaughter and desolation the whole country from sea to sea; a devouring war, a dreadful famine, a plague the most wasteful of any recorded in our

history, united to consummate the ruin of Britain. The ecclesiastical writers of that age, confounded at the view of those complicated calamities, saw nothing but the arm of God stretched out for the punishment of a sinful and disobedient nation : and truly when we set before us in one point of view the condition of all the parts which had lately composed the Western Empire, of Britain, of Gaul, of Italy, of Spain, of Africa, at once overwhelmed by a resistless inundation of most cruel barbarians, whose inhuman method of war made but a small part of the miseries with which these nations were afflicted, we are almost driven out of the order of political inquiry—we are in a manner compelled to acknowledge the hand of God in those immense revolutions, by which at certain periods He so signally asserts His supreme dominion, and brings about that great system of change, which is, perhaps, as necessary to the moral as it is found to be in the natural world.

But whatever the condition of the other parts of Europe, it is generally agreed that the state of Britain was the worst of all. Some writers have asserted that except those who took refuge in the mountains of Wales and in Cornwall, or fled into Armorica (Britanny), the British race was in a manner destroyed. What is extraordinary, we find England in a very tolerable state of population in less than two centuries after the first invasion of the Saxons ; and it is hard to imagine either the transplantation or the increase of that single people to have been in so short a time sufficient for the settlement of so great an extent of country. Others speak of the Britons not as extirpated, but as reduced to a state of slavery ; and here these writers fix the origin of personal and prædial servitude in England.

I shall lay fairly before the reader all I have been able to discover concerning the existence or condition of this unhappy people. That they were much more broken and reduced than any other nation which had fallen under the German power, I think may be inferred from two considerations : first, that in all other parts of Europe the ancient language subsisted after the Conquest, and at



length incorporated with that of the conquerors ; whereas in England the Saxon language received little or no tincture from the Welsh, and it seems, even among the lowest people, to have continued a dialect of pure Teutonic to the time in which it was itself blended with the Norman. Secondly, that on the continent the Christian religion, after the northern irruptions, not only remained but flourished. It was very early and universally adopted by the ruling people. In England it was so entirely extinguished, that when Augustine undertook his mission it does not appear that among all the Saxons there was a single person professing Christianity.

The sudden extinction of the ancient religion and language seems sufficient to show that Britain must have suffered more than any of the neighbouring nations on the continent. But it must not be concealed that there are likewise proofs that the British race, though much diminished, was not wholly extirpated, and that those who remained were not merely as Britons reduced to servitude, for they are mentioned as existing in some of the earlier Saxon laws. In these laws they are allowed a compensation on the footing of the meaner kind of English (Angles), and they are even permitted, as well as the English, to emerge out of that low rank into a more liberal condition. This is degradation, but not slavery. The affairs of the whole period are, however, covered with an obscurity not to be dissipated. The Britons had but little leisure or ability to write a just account of a war by which they were ruined ; and the Anglo-Saxons, who succeeded them, attentive only to arms, were, until their conversion, ignorant of the use of letters.

## II.—THE SAXON KINGS OF ENGLAND.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. During Ethelwulf's reign the kingdom was much disturbed by the incursions of the Danes. At this time [845] Turgesius, a Dane, was king of Ireland. The Danes were defeated at Wembury [851] by Ethelwulf's illegitimate son Athelstan, and in a sea fight ; but after this they sailed up the Thames and sacked



London. In their retreat they were defeated by Ethelwulf. Tithes were first paid to the church in Ethelwulf's reign. By his wife Osburga he had four sons—Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred, and Alfred. He died in 857.

2. No event of importance occurred in the reigns of Ethelbald and Ethelbert. The latter was succeeded in 866 by Ethelred I., in whose reign the Danes renewed their incursions, and penetrated far into the kingdom, destroying the monasteries of Ely, Peterborough, Croyland, Coldingham, and many others. Ethelred I. encountered the Danes in nine battles, and died in 871, leaving the crown to his brother Alfred.

3. Alfred, surnamed the Great, was born at Wantage, in Berkshire. He visited Rome in 853, and was there anointed future king of England by Pope Leo IV. At his accession the north of England was in the hands of the Danes, who had also overrun the western counties. After many battles Alfred defeated the Danes at Exeter, in 876, and drove them into Mercia.

4. In 878, the Danes attacked Alfred at Chippenham and defeated him. After this Alfred retired to Athelney, in Somersetshire, where he remained in hiding until 879, when, after visiting the Danish camp in disguise, and learning their numbers and disposition, he hastily gathered some Saxon troops and totally defeated the Danes at the battle of Ethandune. After this Guthrum, the Danish general, and many of his officers, embraced Christianity, and were permitted by Alfred to remain as settlers in East Anglia.

5. Alfred then turned his attention to the better regulation of the internal affairs of his kingdom. He encouraged learning, founded the University of Oxford [866 or 872], and translated the Scriptures into Anglo-Saxon.

6. He also divided the kingdom into counties or shires, and hundreds; he embodied a code of laws, in which the administration of strict justice was tempered with mildness, and he established the form of trial by jury.

7. The Danes landed again in Kent, under Hastings [897], but they were defeated by Alfred in numerous battles, and their ships driven from the coast by his navy. Alfred, having gained enduring fame as a soldier, statesman, and scholar, died at Farringdon, in Berkshire, in 901.

8. The reign of Edward the Elder was disturbed by civil war, Ethelwald, the son of Ethelbert, his cousin, claiming the throne. Ethelwald was supported by the Danes, but was defeated by Edward at Wimborne and in other battles.

9. Edward the Elder followed for the most part in the footsteps of his father Alfred. He encouraged learning, augmenting, some say founding, the University of Cambridge, and considerably lessened the power of the Danes. He died in 925.

10. Athelstan, his son by Egwina, the daughter of a shepherd, succeeded him. This prince caused the whole of the Scriptures to be translated into Anglo-Saxon, and caused a copy to be placed in every church. He defeated the allied forces of the Danes, Irish, Welsh, and Scotch in the famous battle of Brunanburgh, in 937. He added many good laws to the code drawn up by his grandfather Alfred, and ennobled every merchant who made three voyages to foreign countries. The only blot on his character is the murder of his brother Edwin, whom he suspected of conspiring to obtain the crown.

11. Athelstan died in 941, and was succeeded by his brother Edmund. This king defeated the Danes under Anlaf in several battles, and introduced the punishment of death for robbery and murder. He was stabbed at a feast at Pucklechurch, in Gloucestershire [946], by Leolf, a freebooter, then under sentence of banishment.

12. Edmund was succeeded by his brother Edred. Dunstan, born in 926, abbot of Glastonbury, and High Treasurer of the kingdom, exercised considerable influence over this prince, and obtained many immunities and privileges for his order.

13. Edred, dying in 955, was succeeded by Edwy, called the Fair, the eldest son of Edmund. In his reign the Roman Catholic clergy, under Dunstan, began to claim and exert great power. Edwy had married his cousin Elgiva, a lady of great personal beauty. As the marriage was within the degrees of consanguinity forbidden by the Church of Rome, Dunstan dragged her from the king's presence, spoiled her beauty by branding her face with hot irons, and banished her to Ireland.

14. Dunstan, in his turn, was banished to Flanders, where he spent his time in fomenting, by his agents, civil discord in England. Elgiva having returned from Ireland, was murdered by the priests at Gloucester in 956. Edwy died in 959.

15. Edgar, the brother of the late king, had been proclaimed by the monks during his brother's lifetime. He recalled Dunstan, and made him Archbishop of Canterbury. In his reign the wolves in England and Wales were all destroyed. He kept up a large army and fleet, which prevented the Danes from making descents on his kingdom.

16. Edgar, dying in 975, was succeeded by his son Edward

the Martyr, who was murdered at Corfe Castle in 978, by order of his stepmother, Elfrida.

17. Edward was succeeded by Elfrida's son, Ethelred II. The expeditions of the Danes were renewed during his reign. In 994, Sweyn and Olaus, the kings of Denmark and Norway, plundered the southern counties. Induced to retire for a while by the payment of 16,000 pounds of silver, they did not revisit England until 1001, when they demanded a still greater sum of money. This was the origin of the tribute called the Dane-geld, paid by England to Denmark for some time. A massacre of the Danes was resolved on, and carried out in 1002, in revenge for which Sweyn ravaged England, and at last succeeded in driving Ethelred out of the kingdom (1011).

18. After this Sweyn usurped the royal authority in England, and dying shortly after, left his dominions to his son Canute. Ethelred was recalled by the English in 1015, and died in 1016, leaving his crown to his son, Edmund Ironside.

19. Many battles were fought between Edmund Ironside and Canute; but their rivalry was ended by a division of the kingdom between them, Edmund taking the part south of the Thames, and Canute the country north of that river. In 1017 Edmund died, and Canute became monarch of all England.

### ALFRED THE GREAT.

#### PART I.—HIS BOYHOOD AND GREAT BATTLES.

[*Abridged and adapted from an account of this monarch in the "Penny Magazine," by Charles Macfarlane, one of the authors of the "Pictorial History of England," planned by Charles Knight, and a contributor to most of the works undertaken by that eminent publisher. He died in the Charter-house in 1858.*]

This darling of England was of the most ancient and illustrious lineage. His father, Ethelwulf, traced his descent from the most renowned of Saxon heroes; and his mother, Osburga, descended from renowned Gothic progenitors. He was born at the royal manor of Vanathing (now Wantage), in Berkshire, in the year 849. Of four legitimate sons Alfred was the youngest; yet, in 853, when King Ethelwulf repaired to Rome, partly as a pilgrim to that holy city, and partly to take counsel of the pope, he carried Alfred with him. Leo IV., who then wore the tiara or triple crown, consecrated the boy as king. This conferring of royal

inaugural honours upon a child in the fifth year of his age, and the youngest of his family, has often been made a matter of wonderment. The fact is, however, most distinctly stated by Asser and the Saxon Chronicle. But at this time the seven states which had formed the Heptarchy were not thoroughly fused and amalgamated into the one great and undividable kingdom of England ; and Ethelwulf, who allowed one of his sons (the illegitimate Athelstan) to reign in Wessex during his lifetime, may have contemplated, as other Saxon sovereigns did even at a later period, a re-division of the kingdom, and may have been eager to secure one of the crowns for Alfred, his darling boy, and the fairest and most promising of his sons.

The earliest story related of Alfred treats of his aptitude for learning and his love for poetry and books. He learned to read before his elder brothers, and before he could read he had learned by heart a great many Anglo-Saxon poems, by hearing the minstrels and gleemen recite them in his father's hall. This passionate love of letters never forsook him. In the year 871, when Alfred was in the twenty-second year of his age, Ethelred, the last of his kingly brothers, died of wounds received in battle with the Danish invaders, and the voice of the nobles and people immediately designated him as successor to the crown of all England. Alfred had already fought many battles, and had given proofs of political ability and wisdom, but it was with reluctance that he shut up his books and took up the sceptre. At this point his exciting and well recorded adventures commence.

For many years the hero has to fight for territory and life against the formidable Danes, who, having conquered a large portion of the kingdom in the time of his brothers and predecessors, continued to receive, every spring and summer, fresh forces from the Baltic. He has scarcely been a month upon the throne ere he fights the great battle of Wilton. In the next year he fits out a small fleet of ships, a species of force which the Saxons had entirely neglected, and forms the embryo of the naval glory of England. His enemies, however, are too numerous to be resisted, and too faithless and cruel to be trusted ; and

after fighting many battles he is obliged to retire to an inland island called Athelney, or the Prince's Island, near the confluence of the rivers Tone and Parret. It is Asser who tells the story that is endeared to us all by our earliest recollections. In one of his excursions from Athelney, Alfred takes refuge in the cabin of a swineherd, and tarries there some time. On a certain day, it happens that the wife of the swain prepares to bake her loudas or loaves of bread. Alfred chances at the time to be sitting near the hearth, but he is busied in thinking of war, and in making ready bows and arrows. The shrew soon beholds her loaves burning, and runs to remove them, scolding the stranger. "You man," saith she, "you will not turn the bread you see burning, but you will be glad enough to eat it." "This unlucky woman," adds Asser, "little thought she was talking to King Alfred, who had warred against the pagans, and gained so many victories over them."

Some of his friends have gathered armies together, and have obtained successes over the enemy in various parts; Alfred himself has raised a small band into a formidable force, and he has good reason to believe that the Danes are becoming incautious and negligent. Putting on the gleeman's dress, and carrying instruments of music in his hand, he gains a ready entrance into the Danish camp; and as he amuses these idle warriors with songs and interludes he espies all their sloth and negligence, and hears much of their counsels and plans. The Danes love his company and his songs so much that they are loth to let him depart, but he is soon enabled to return to his friends at Athelney, with a full account of the habits and state of this army; and secret and swift messengers are sent to all quarters to request all true Saxons to meet in arms at a given time, at Egbert's Stone, on the east of Selwood Forest. The true Saxons meet, and fight and defeat the Danes in the great battle of Ethandune, on the banks of the river Avon. And now follows the touching picture of the conversion and baptism of Guthrun the Dane, with King Alfred standing by him at the baptismal font as his sponsor.

The converted Guthrun kept his contract, but other

hosts of pagan Danes came from beyond the seas. After six years of warfare, with several battles fought in each year, Alfred was enabled to rebuild and fortify the city of London, which the Danes had burned. His infant navy gained divers victories; and when a Danish host sailed up the Medway and laid siege to Rochester, Alfred, with a land force, fell suddenly upon them, and drove them back to their ships. But in the course of six or seven years, Hastings, the greatest and ablest of all the Danish warriors and sea-kings, came over to England with a more desperate army than had ever been seen before, and a new war commenced, which was prosecuted successfully in nearly every corner of England, and which lasted with scarcely any intermission for nearly four years. The combats were many, and King Alfred was personally present in most of them. Great was the aid he received from the restored citizens of London, whose gratitude and affection knew no bounds. These generous citizens not only furnished him with money and provisions, but they also put on warlike harness, and went out, young and old, and fought under him. The valley of the Lea, from its mouth on the Thames near London up to Ware and Hertford, and the country above Hertford, was the scene of many remarkable exploits in war, in which the Londoners had a very distinguished part.

The pleasant river Lea was very different a thousand years ago from what it is now. It was both broader and deeper, being filled with a far greater volume of water from the then undrained country. Nor did the Danish ships of war draw so much water as a modern trading sloop. Thus Hastings was enabled to carry his great fleet of ships up the river as far as Ware, or, as some think, Hertford, where he established one of his fortified camps, in the construction of which this Danish commander displayed extraordinary skill. On the approach of summer, the burgesses of London, with many of their neighbours, who saw that their ripening corn was exposed to be reaped by a Danish sickle, attacked Hastings in this stronghold, but were repulsed with great loss. But presently, Alfred, marching from a distant part of the country, came and

encamped his army round about the city of London, and stayed there until the citizens and their neighbours got in their harvests ; he then marched away to the Lea, which seemed covered with the enemy's ships, and, at great personal risk, surveyed with his own eyes this new fortified camp of the Danes.

His active mind presently conceived a plan which was much safer and surer than any assault which could be made upon those formidable works. Bringing up his forces, and calling upon the alert and brave Londoners for assistance, he raised two fortresses, one on either side the Lea, a little below the Danish camp, and then dug three deep canals or channels from the Lea to the Thames, in order to lower the level of the tributary stream. So much water was thus drawn off that the whole fleet of Hastings was left aground and rendered useless. Upon this the terrible sea-king broke from his intrenchments by night, and hardly rested till he had traversed the whole of that wide tract of country which lies between the river Lea and the Severn.

While King Alfred followed after Hastings, the Londoners fell upon the Danish ships and galleys : some they broke to pieces, and some they got afloat again, and carried round in triumph, with Saxon horns and other music, to the city of London. At Quatbridge, on the Severn (the place is now called Quatford, and it lies not far from Bridgenorth, in Shropshire), Alfred found the Danish host in another camp, which they had already strongly fortified. The Saxon king was compelled to respect the intrenchments at Quatbridge, and to leave the Danes there undisturbed through all the winter ; but he established so good a blockade, that the Danes could not plunder the country, or often issue from their works, and, at the approach of spring, hunger drove them all out of England ; and Hastings, after escaping with difficulty from the sword of Alfred, crossed the Channel without profit or honour, as Asser says. The sea-king ascended the river Seine, obtained some settlement in France, and never more troubled King Alfred. This was the last great campaign of our Saxon hero.

## PART II.—HIS STATECRAFT AND WORKS OF PEACE.

Alfred, who had much mechanical skill, and who thought it no unkingly occupation to wield the ship-carpenters' tools, now applied himself more vigorously than ever to the creation of a national navy. For a long time he went daily to the ship-yard with his good steel adze in his hand. He caused vessels to be built far exceeding those of his enemies in length of keel, height of board, swiftness, and steadiness; some of these carried sixty oars or sweepers, to be used as in the ancient Roman galleys, when the wind failed; and others carried even more than sixty. They were all constructed after a plan of Alfred's own invention, and they were soon found to be peculiarly well adapted to the service for which they were intended. Before the close of his reign the flag of Alfred floated over more than a hundred vessels of this sort. This truly royal fleet—the first that England ever had, and as such entitled to our veneration—was divided into squadrons, some of which were stationed at different ports round the island, while some were kept constantly cruising between our island and the continent, and the outlet from the Baltic Sea. The flag of England was already a meteor flag, and no ship of any other nation met it at sea without paying honour to it.

Yet was Alfred even greater in peace than in war. In every interval of repose allowed him by the furious invaders he gave himself up to study and contemplation, and occupied his mind by devising the means of improving the moral as well as the physical condition of the people, and of advancing their civilisation by books and schools, and a better administration of the laws. When he rebuilt London he gave to it many admirable civil institutions and laws. He rebuilt Winchester and many other cities, and wherever he rebuilt a town he gave the people rules for reconstructing and improving their municipal institutions, and trained them to that system of self-government which has since become the pride and strength of England, and without which there can be no lasting liberty in any country. There had been codes of law in England long before the



days of Alfred, and some of these, though rudely simple had a fine free spirit about them. Alfred collected the codes, or dooms as they were also called, of his predecessors, and apparently without adding much of his own, and without introducing any new matter whatsoever, he compiled a very intelligible and consistent code, and submitted it to the Witenagemot, or parliament, or great council, for their sanction. It was rather to the proper administration of plain and simple laws than to the construction of any new theory, that Alfred directed his attention. In practice the judges had become shamefully corrupt. Asser mentions that he exercised great vigilance over the judges, frequently reprimanding those who did amiss, and threatening them with deprivation and other punishments. We have the same good authority for the facts that the courts became pure ; that the laws, such as they were, were fairly administered ; and that town people and villagers kept such good police that robbery and theft became almost unknown. Towards the close of his reign it was generally asserted that one might have showed golden bracelets and jewels on the public highways and cross-roads, and no man would have dared to touch them for fear of the law.

Alfred was not only the first warrior, the first statesman and legislator, but he was also the first scholar in his dominions. From Asser's interesting memoirs the fact may easily be gathered that Alfred vastly exceeded even the most learned of his prelates in scholar-like accomplishments. He states that the king's noble mind thirsted for knowledge from the very cradle, and that when a mere child he had got many of the Anglo-Saxon poems by heart. It appears highly probable that Alfred diligently studied the Latin language between his twelfth and eighteenth year ; that he had a few Latin books with him in his solitude at Athelney, and that he was (for that time) a good Latin scholar before he invited Asser to his court. But whenever or however he obtained his knowledge of that learned tongue, he certainly showed in his literary works a proficiency in Latin which was almost miraculous for a prince in Alfred's age. The style of his works in his

native language proves that his acquaintance with a few good classical models was familiar, and extended to higher things than mere words and phrases. Even as an author, no native of England of the old Saxon period, except the Venerable Bede, can be compared to Alfred either for the number or the excellence of his writings. These works were in great part translations\* from the Latin into Anglo-Saxon. He was an elegant poet, and wrote a great number of Anglo-Saxon poems and ballads, which were sung and recited in all parts of England, but of which we believe no trace has been preserved, though we have a few verses of a still more ancient date. Asser tells us that his first attempt at translation was made upon the Bible, a book which no man ever held in greater reverence than King-Alfred. He and the king were engaged in pleasant conversation, and it so chanced that Asser quoted a passage from the Bible with which the king was much struck. Alfred requested his friend to write the passage in a collection of psalms and hymns which he had with him at Athelney, and which he always carried in his bosom, but not a blank leaf could be found in that book. At the monk's suggestion the king called for a clean skin of parchment, and this being folded into fours, in the shape of a little book, the passage from the Scriptures was written upon it in Latin, together with other good texts; and the king setting to work upon these passages translated them into the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

Nothing is more astonishing in the story of this marvellous man than how he could find time for these laudable literary occupations; but he was steady and persevering in all things, regular in his habits when not kept in the field by the Danes, and a rigid economist of his time. Eight hours of each day he gave to sleep, to his meals, and

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\*Alfred's translations were: 1. Orosius's History, six books; 2. St. Gregory's Pastorale; 3. St. Gregory's Dialogues; 4. Bede's History, five books; 5. Boetius on the Consolation of Philosophy; 6. The Merchant's Tale, or Laws of the Mercians; 7. Asser's Sentences; 8. The Psalms of David. His original works were: 1. An Abridgement of the Laws of the Trojans, the Greeks, the Britons, the Saxons, and the Danes; 2. Laws of the West Saxons; 3. Institutes; 4. A Book against Unjust Judges; 5. Sayings of the Wise; 6. A Book on the Fortunes of Kings; 7. Parables and Jokes; 8. Acts of Magistrates; 9. Collection of Chronicles; 10. Manual of Meditations.

exercise ; eight were absorbed by the affairs of government, and eight were devoted to study and devotion. Clocks, clepsydras, and other ingenious inventions for measuring time were then unknown in England. Alfred was no doubt acquainted with the sun-dial, which was in common use in Italy ; but this index is of no use in the hours of the night, and would frequently be equally unserviceable during our sunless, foggy days. He therefore marked his time by the constant burning of wax torches or candles, which were made precisely of the same weight and size, and notched in the stem at regular distances. These candles were twelve inches long ; six of them, or seventy-two inches of wax, were consumed in twenty-four hours, or fourteen hundred and forty minutes ; and thus, supposing the notches at intervals of an inch, one such notch would mark the lapse of twenty minutes, and three such notches the lapse of an hour. These time-candles were placed under the special charge of the king's mass-priests or chaplains. But it was soon discovered that sometimes the wind rushing in through the windows and doors, and the numerous chinks in the walls of the royal palace, caused the wax to be consumed in a rapid and irregular manner. This induced Alfred to invent that primitive utensil the horn lantern, which now-a-days is never seen except in the stable-yard of some lowly country inn, and not often even there. Asser tells us that the king went skilfully and wisely to work ; and having found out that white horn could be made transparent like glass, he, with that material and pieces of wood, admirably made a case for his candle, which kept it from wasting and flaring. And therefore, say we, let no one ever look upon an ostler's horn lantern, however poor and battered it may be, and however dim the light that shines within it, without thinking of Alfred the Great.

This Saxon king, who could practise with his own hand the mechanical arts, extended his encouragement to all the humble but useful arts, and always gave a kind reception to mechanics of superior skill, of whom no inconsiderable number came into England from foreign countries. "No man," says Milton, "could be more frugal of two precious

things in man's life—his time and his revenue. His whole annual revenue, which his first care was should be justly his own, he divided into two equal parts : the first he employed in secular uses, and subdivided those into three : the first, to pay his soldiers, household servants, and guard ; the second, to pay his architects and workmen, whom he had got together of several nations, for he was an elegant builder, above the custom and conceit of Englishmen in those days ; the third he had in readiness to relieve or honour strangers, according to their worth, who came from all parts to see him and live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to religious uses—those of four sorts : the first, to relieve the poor ; the second, to build and maintain monasteries ; the third, to a school where he had persuaded the sons of many noblemen to study sacred knowledge and liberal arts (some say Oxford) ; the fourth was for the relief of foreign churches, as far as India, to the shrine of St. Thomas.”

This great prince was anxious above all things that his subjects should learn how to govern themselves, and how to preserve their liberties ; and in his will he declared that he left his people as free as their own thoughts. He frequently assembled his Witenagemot, or parliament, and never passed any law, or took any important step whatever, without their previous sanction. Down to the last days of his life he heard all law appeals in person with the utmost patience, and in cases of importance he revised all the proceedings with the utmost industry. His manifold labours in the court, the camp, the field, the hall of justice, the study, must have been prodigious. “One cannot help being amazed,” says Burke, “that a prince who lived in such turbulent times, who commanded personally in fifty-four pitched battles, who had so disordered a province to regulate, who was not only a legislator but a judge, and who was continually superintending his armies, his navies, the traffic of his kingdom, his revenues, and the conduct of all his officers, could have bestowed so much of his time on religious exercises and speculative knowledge ; but the exertion of all his faculties and virtues seemed to have given a mutual strength to all of them. Thus all historians

speak of this prince, whose whole history is one panegyric ; and whatever dark spots of human frailty may have adhered to such a character, they are entirely hid in the splendour of his many shining qualities and grand virtues, that throw a glory over the obscure period in which he lived."

Our amazement at all this bodily and mental activity must be increased by the indisputable fact that all these incessant exertions were made in spite of the depressing influences of physical pain and constant bad health. At the age of twenty or twenty-one he was visited by a tormenting malady, the inward seat and unknown nature of which baffled all the medical skill of his "leeches," or physicians. The accesses of excruciating pain were frequent, at times almost intermittent, and then, if by day or by night, a single hour of ease was mercifully granted to him, that short interval was embittered by the dread of the sure-returning anguish. But the good monk Asser, who withdraws the curtain and admits us into the sick room of the great Saxon sovereign, tells us that Heaven vouchsafed him strength to bear these mortal agonies, and that they were borne with a devout fortitude. The disease never quitted him, and was no doubt the cause of his death.

"The shepherd of his people," "the darling of the English," "the wisest man in England," the truly illustrious Alfred, expired in the month of November, on the festival of Saint Simon and Saint Jude, in the year 900, when he was only in the fifty-first year of his age. He was buried at Winchester in a monastery he had founded.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

ASSER, whose name is so frequently mentioned in the above lesson and that which precedes it, was a monk of St. David's, Wales. He became the tutor and friend of Alfred the Great, and wrote an account of the life of that monarch. Some suppose that he was afterwards bishop of Sherborne, as a monk of the same name is mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle as having held this office. He died in 910.

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## III.—THE DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND.

## HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Canute married Emma of Normandy, the widow of Ethelred II. He sent the sons of the late king, Edmund Ironside, into exile, and executed many of the Saxon nobles, confiscating their estates to the crown. With the aid of a body of English troops, commanded by Earl Godwin, he conquered Norway, and thus became king of England, Denmark, and Norway.

2. The last acts of his reign were a visit to Rome and an attack on the Scots to punish the Scottish king Malcolm for refusing to do homage for the earldom of Cumberland. Malcolm gave way, and the war was averted. Canute died in 1035.

3. His son and successor, Harold I., stained his short reign with the crime of murder, being privy to the slaughter of Alfred (one of the sons of Ethelred and Emma his stepmother) by the retainers of Earl Godwin, whom he had won over to permit the commission of the crime.

4. Dying in 1039, he was succeeded by his brother Hardicanute, a prince famed only for bodily strength and intemperate habits. This king burdened the English with taxes, compelling them to pay Dane-geld to the Danes. He died in 1041, after a drinking bout at Lambeth.

## HOW THE DANES GOT THE UPPER HAND IN ENGLAND.

[*Edmund Burke.*]

Edgar had two wives, Elfleda and Elfrida. By the first he had a son called Edward; the second bore him one called Ethelred. On Edgar's death, Edward, in the usual order of succession, was called to the throne; but Elfrida caballed in favour of her son, and finding it impossible to set him up in the life of his brother, she murdered Edward with her own hands in her castle of Corfe, whither he had retired to refresh himself, wearied with hunting. Ethelred, who, by the crimes of his mother, ascended a throne sprinkled with his brother's blood, had a part to act which exceeded the capacity which could be expected in one of his youth and inexperience. The partisans of the secular clergy, who were kept down by the vigour of Edgar's

government, thought this a fit time to renew their pretensions. The monks defended themselves in their possession; there was no moderation on either side, and the whole nation joined in these parties. The murder of Edward threw an odious stain on the king, though he was wholly innocent of that crime. There was a general discontent, and every corner was full of murmurs and cabals. In this state of the kingdom it was equally dangerous to exert the fulness of the sovereign authority, or to suffer it to relax. The temper of the king was most inclined to the latter method, which is of all things the worst. A weak government, too easy, suffers evils to grow which often make the most rigorous and illegal proceedings necessary: through an extreme lenity, it is on some occasions tyrannical. This was the condition of Ethelred's nobility, who, by being permitted everything, were never contented.

Thus all the principal men held a factious and sort of independent authority; they despised the king, they oppressed the people, and they hated one another. The Danes, in every part of England but Wessex as numerous as the English themselves, and in many parts more numerous, were ready to take advantage of these disorders, and waited with impatience some new attempt from abroad that they might rise in favour of the invaders. They were not long without such an occasion; the Danes pour in almost upon every part at once, and distract the defence which the weak prince was preparing to make.

In those days of wretchedness and ignorance, when all the maritime parts of Europe were attacked by these formidable enemies at once, they never thought of entering into any alliance against them: they equally neglected the other obvious method to prevent their incursions, which was to carry the war into the invaders' country.

What aggravated these calamities, the nobility, mostly disaffected to the king, and entertaining very little regard for their country, made, some of them, a weak and cowardly opposition to the enemy; some actually betrayed their trust; some even were found who undertook the trade of piracy themselves. It was in this condition that Edric, duke of Mercia, a man of some ability, but light, incon-

stant, and utterly devoid of all principle, proposed to buy a peace from the Danes. The general weakness and consternation disposed the king and people to take this pernicious advice. At first £10,000 was given to the Danes, who retired with this money and the rest of their plunder. The English were now for the first time taxed to supply the payment. The imposition was called Danegeld, not more burdensome in the thing than scandalous in the name. The scheme of purchasing peace not only gave rise to many internal hardships, but, whilst it weakened the kingdom, it inspired such a desire of invading it to the enemy, that Sweyn, king of Denmark, came in person soon after, with a prodigious fleet and army.

The English having once found the method of diverting the storm by an inglorious bargain could not bear to think of any other mode of resistance. A greater sum (£48,000) was now paid, which the Danes accepted with pleasure, as they could by this means exhaust their enemies and enrich themselves with little danger or trouble. With very short intermissions they still returned, continually increasing their demands. In a few years they extorted upwards of £160,000 from the English, besides an annual tribute of £48,000. The country was wholly exhausted both of money and spirit; the Danes in England, under the protection of the foreign Danes, committed a thousand insolencies; and so infatuated with stupidity and baseness were the English at this time, that they employed hardly any other soldiers for their defence.

In this state of shame and misery their sufferings suggested to them a design rather desperate than brave. They resolved on a massacre of the Danes; some authors say that in one night the whole race was cut off. Many (probably all the military men) were so destroyed. But this massacre, injudicious as it was cruel, was certainly not universal, nor did it serve any other or better end than to exasperate those of the same nation abroad; who the next year landed in England with a powerful army to avenge it, and committed outrages even beyond the usual tenor of the Danish cruelty; there was in England no money left to purchase a peace nor courage to wage a successful war,



and the king of Denmark, Sweyn, a prince of capacity, at the head of a large body of brave and enterprising men, soon mastered the whole kingdom except London. Ethelred, abandoned by fortune and his subjects, was forced to fly into Normandy.

As there was no good order in the English affairs, although continually alarmed, they were always surprised ; they were only roused to arms by the cruelty of the enemy ; and they were only formed into a body by being driven from their homes ; so that they never made a resistance until they seemed to be entirely conquered. This may serve to account for the frequent sudden reductions of the island, and the frequent renewals of their fortune when it seemed the most desperate. Sweyn, in the midst of his victories, dies ; and though succeeded by his son, Canute, who inherited his father's resolution, their affairs were thrown into some disorder by this accident. The English were encouraged by it. Ethelred was recalled, and the Danes retired out of the kingdom ; but it was only to return the next year with a greater and better-appointed force. Nothing seemed able to oppose them. The king dies. A great part of the land was surrendered without resistance to Canute. Edmund, the eldest son of Ethelred, supported, however, the declining hopes of the English for some time ; in three months he fought three victorious battles ; he attempted a fourth, but lost it by the base desertion of Edric, the principal cause of all these troubles. It is common with the conquered side to attribute all their misfortunes to the treachery of their own party. They chose to be thought subdued by the treachery of their friends rather than the superior bravery of their enemies. All the old historians talk in this strain ; and it must be acknowledged that all adherents to a declining party have many temptations to infidelity.

Edmund, defeated but not discouraged, retreated to the Severn, where he recruited his forces. Canute followed at his heels. And now the two armies were drawn up which were to decide the fate of England, when it was proposed to determine the war by single combat between the two kings. Neither was unwilling ; the isle of Alney, in the Severn,

was chosen for the lists. Edmund had the advantage by his greatness of strength, Canute by his address ; for when Edmund had so far prevailed as to disarm him, he proposed a parley, in which he persuaded Edmund to a peace and the division of the kingdom. Their armies accepted the agreement, and both kings departed in seeming friendship. But Edmund died soon after, with a probable suspicion of being murdered by the instruments of his associate in the empire.

Canute, on this event, assembled the states of the kingdom, by whom he was acknowledged king of England. He was a prince truly great, for having acquired the kingdom by his valour, he maintained and improved it by his justice and clemency. Choosing to rule rather by the inclination of his subjects than the right of conquest, he dismissed his Danish army, and committed his safety to the laws. He re-established the order and tranquillity which so long a series of bloody wars had banished. He revived the ancient statutes of the Saxon princes, and governed through his whole reign with such steadiness and moderation that the English were much happier under this foreign prince than they had been under their natural kings. Canute, though the beginning of his reign was stained with those marks of violence and injustice which attend conquests, was remarkable in his latter end for his piety. According to the mode of that time he made a pilgrimage to Rome, with a view to expiate the crimes which paved his way to the throne ; but he made a good use of this peregrination, and returned full of the observations which he had made in the country through which he passed, which he turned to the benefit of his extensive dominions. They comprehended England, Denmark, and Norway, and many of the countries which lie upon the Baltic. Those he left established in peace and security to his children. The fate of his northern possessions is not of this place. England fell to his son Harold, though not without much competition in favour of the sons of Edmund Ironside, while some contended for the right of the sons of Ethelred, Alfred and Edward. Harold inherited none of the virtues of Canute ; he banished his mother Emma, murdered his stepbrother

Alfred, and died without issue after a short reign full of violence, weakness, and cruelty.

His brother, Hardicanute, who succeeded him, resembled him in his character; he committed new cruelties and injustices in revenging those which his brother had committed, and he died after a yet shorter reign. The Danish power, established with so much blood, expired of itself; and Edward, the only surviving son of Ethelred, then an exile in Normandy, was called to the throne by the unanimous voice of the kingdom.

#### IV.—THE SAXON KINGS OF ENGLAND RESTORED.

##### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. After the death of Hardicanute, Edward, called the Confessor, was summoned to the throne through the interest of the powerful Saxon, Earl Godwin, whose daughter Editha he had married. In his reign the Danegeld was repealed; but Godwin and the Saxons were offended at the king's partiality for the Normans, and the readiness with which he gave them offices of trust and emolument at court, and about his person.

2. Edward is said to have promised the kingdom at his death to William of Normandy, the illegitimate son of Robert, and a descendant of Rollo the Northman, or Norman, who established himself in France in the reign of Alfred.

3. Shortly after a visit paid by William to Edward at the English court, Earl Godwin was banished to Flanders. Returning thence in the following year, he procured the liberty of the Queen Editha, who had been placed under restraint in a monastery at Wherwell, drove the Norman favourites from the court, and died soon after his return at Windsor (A.D. 1052).

4. In 1065, Harold, a son of Earl Godwin, who was justly popular with the English, was wrecked on the coast of France. He was hospitably received by William of Normandy, who induced him, it is said, to swear to aid him in obtaining the English crown after Edward's death.

5. On Harold's return, he was compelled by justice to sanction the expulsion of his brother Tostig from the government of Northumberland for acts of cruelty and oppression.

6. In 1066, Edward the Confessor died, and Harold, who was chosen king, prepared to defend his realm against all invaders. Tostig, who had taken refuge in Flanders, induced Hardrada,

king of Norway, to invade England. Both were slain, and their forces defeated by Harold in a battle at Stamford Bridge.

7. To Harold, flushed with victory, the news was brought of the landing of the Normans on the coast of Sussex, under William of Normandy, and he hastened from the North to give them battle. On October 14, 1066, the Battle of Hastings was fought. The victory was lost to the English, and secured to the Norman duke by the death of Harold, who fell on the field, pierced through the brain with an arrow, after a reign of ten months, gallantly employed in the defence of his island kingdom.

### THE BATTLE OF HASTINGS.

[From the "*History of Normandy and of England*," by Sir Francis Palgrave, who for some years held the post of deputy-keeper of the public records. His other historical works are a "*History of the Anglo-Saxons*," and the "*Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth*." He was born in 1788, and died in 1861. His surname was Cohen, which he subsequently changed to that of Palgrave.]

William after his landing had been most actively employed. As a preliminary to further proceedings he had caused all the vessels to be drawn on shore and rendered unserviceable. He told his men that they must prepare to conquer or die—flight was impossible. He had occupied the Roman castle of Pevensey, whose walls are yet existing, flanked by Anglo-Norman towers, and he had personally surveyed all the adjoining country, for he never trusted this part of a general's duty to any eyes but his own. One Robert, a Norman thane who was settled in the neighbourhood, advised him to cast up intrenchments for the purpose of resisting Harold. William replied that his best defence was in the valour of his army and the goodness of his case.

In compliance with the opinions of the age, William had an astrologer in his train. An oriental monarch, at the present time, never engages in battle without a previous horoscope; and this superstition was universally adopted in Europe during the Middle Ages. But William's "clerk" was not merely a star-gazer—he had graduated in all the occult sciences; he was a necromancer and a soothsayer. These accomplishments in the sixteenth century would

have assuredly brought the clerk to the stake ; but in the eleventh, although they were highly illegal according to the strict letter of the ecclesiastical law, yet they were studied as eagerly as any other branch of metaphysics, of which they were supposed to form a part. This *sorcerer*, or *sortilegus*, by casting *sortes*, or lots, had ascertained that the duke would succeed, and that Harold would surrender without a battle, upon which assurance the Normans entirely relied. After the landing William inquired for his conjuror. A pilot came forward and told him that the unhappy wight had been drowned in the passage. tWilliam then immediately pointed out the folly of trusting to the predictions of one who was utterly unable to tell what would happen to himself. When William first set foot on shore he had shown the same spirit. He stumbled and fell forward on the palms of his hands. "It is a bad sign," exclaimed his troops, affrighted at the omen. "No," answered William, as he rose ; "I have taken seizin of the country," showing the clod of earth which he had grasped. One of his soldiers, with the quickness of a modern Frenchman, instantly followed up the idea ; he ran to a cottage and pulled out a bundle of reeds from the thatch, telling him to receive that symbol also as the seizin of the realm with which he was invested. These little anecdotes display the turn and temper of the Normans, and the alacrity by which the army was pervaded.

Some fruitless attempts are said to have been made at negociation. Harold despatched a monk to the enemy's camp, who was to exhort William to abandon his enterprise. The duke insisted on his right ; but, as some historians relate, he offered to submit his claim to a legal decision, to be pronounced by the pope, either according to the law of Normandy, or according to the law of England ; or, if this mode of adjustment did not please Harold, that the question should be decided by single combat, the crown becoming the meed of the victor. The propositions of William are stated by other authorities to have contained a proposition for a compromise—namely, that Harold should take Northumbria, and William the rest of the Anglo-Saxon dominions. All or any of these proposals are

such as may very probably have been made, but they were not minuted down in formal protocols, or couched in diplomatic notes ; they were verbal messages sent to and fro on the eve of a bloody battle.

Fear prevailed in both camps. The English, in addition to the apprehensions which even the most stout-hearted feel on the eve of a morrow whose close they may never see, dreaded the papal excommunication, the curse encountered in support of the unlawful authority of a usurper. When they were informed that battle had been decided upon, they stormed and swore ; and now the cowardice of conscience spurred them on to riot and revelry. The whole night was spent in debauch. "*Waes heal*" and "*Drink heal*" resounded from the tents ; the wine cups passed gaily round and round by the smoky blaze of the red watch fires, while the ballad of ribald mirth was loudly sung by the carousers.

In the Norman leaguer far otherwise had the dread of the approaching morn affected the hearts of William's soldiery. No voice was heard excepting the solemn response of the litany, and the chant of the psalm. The penitents confessed their sins, the masses were said, and the sense of the imminent peril of the morrow was tranquillised by penance and prayer. Each of the nations, as we are told by one of our most trustworthy English historians, acted according to their "national custom," and severe is the censure which the English thus receive.

The English were strongly fortified in their position by lines of trenches and palisades, and within these they were marshalled according to the Danish fashion—shield against shield, presenting an impenetrable front to the enemy. The men of Kent formed the vanguard, for it was their privilege to be the first in the strife. The burgesses of London, in like manner, claimed and obtained the honour of being the royal bodyguard, and they were drawn up round the standard. At the foot of this banner stood Harold, with his brothers Leofwin and Gurth, and a chosen body of the bravest thanes.

Before the Normans began their march, and very early in the morning of the feast of St. Calixtus, William had

assembled his barons round him, and exhorted them to maintain his righteous cause. As the invaders drew nigh, Harold saw a division advancing composed of the volunteers from the county of Boulogne and from the Amiennois, under the command of William Fitz Osbern and Roger Montgomery. "It is the duke," exclaimed Harold; "and little shall I fear him. By *my* forces will *his* be four times outnumbered." Gurth shook his head, and expatiated on the strength of the Norman cavalry, as opposed to the foot-soldiers of England; but their discourse was stopped by the appearance of the combined cohorts, under Aimeric, viscount of Thouars, and Alan Fergant, of Brittany. Harold's heart sunk at the sight, and he broke out into passionate exclamations of fear and dismay. But now the third and last division of the Norman army was drawing nigh. The consecrated Gonfanon floats amidst the forest of spears, and Harold is now too well aware that he beholds the ranks which are commanded in person by the Duke of Normandy.

Immediately before the duke rode Taillefer the minstrel, singing with a loud and clear voice the lay of Charlemagne and Roland, and the emprises of the Paladins who had fallen in the dolorous Pass of Roncevaux. Taillefer, as his guerdon, had craved permission to strike the first blow, for he was a valiant warrior, emulating the deeds which he sung. His appellation, *Taille-fer*, is probably to be considered not as his real name, but as an epithet derived from his strength and prowess; and he fully justified his demand by transfixing the first Englishman whom he attacked, and by felling the second to the ground. The battle now became general, and raged with the greatest fury. The Normans advanced beyond the English lines, but they were driven back, and forced into a trench, where horses and riders fell upon each other in fearful confusion. More Normans were slain here than in any other part of the field. The alarm spread; the light troops left in charge of the baggage and the stores thought that all was lost, and were about to take flight; but the fierce Odo, bishop of Bayeux, the duke's half-brother, and who was better fitted for the sword than for the mitre, succeeded in re-assuring

them, and then returning to the field, and rushing into that part where the battle was hottest, he fought as the stoutest of the warriors engaged in the conflict.

From nine in the morning till three in the afternoon the successes on either side were nearly balanced. The charges of the Norman cavalry gave them great advantage, but the English phalanx repelled their enemies ; and the soldiers were so well protected by their targets that the artillery of the Normans was long discharged in vain. The bowmen seeing that they had failed to make any impression, altered the direction of their shafts, and, instead of shooting point-blank, the flights of arrows were directed upwards, so that the points came down upon the heads of the men of England, and the iron shower fell with murderous effect. The English ranks were exceedingly distressed by the volleys, yet they still stood firm ; and the Normans now employed a stratagem to decoy their opponents out of their intrenchments. A feigned retreat on their part induced the English to pursue them with great heat. The Normans suddenly wheeled about, and a new and fiercer battle was urged. The field was covered with separate bands of foemen, each engaged with one another. Here the English yielded—there they conquered. One English thane armed with a battleaxe spread dismay among the Frenchmen. He was cut down by Roger de Montgomery. The Normans have preserved the name of the Norman baron, but that of the Englishman is lost in oblivion. Some other English thanes are also praised as having singly, and by their personal prowess, delayed the ruin of their countrymen and country.

At one period of the battle the Normans were nearly routed. The cry was raised that the duke was slain, and they began to fly in every direction. William threw off his helmet, and galloping through the squadrons rallied his barons, though not without great difficulty. Harold on his part used every possible exertion, and was distinguished as the most active and bravest amongst the soldiers in the host which he led on to destruction. A Norman arrow wounded him in the left eye ; he dropped from his steed in agony, and was borne to the foot of the standard. The



English began to give way, or rather to retreat to the standard as their rallying point. The Normans encircled them, and fought desperately to reach this goal. Robert Fitz-Ernest had almost seized the banner, but he was killed in the attempt. William led his troops on with the intention, it is said, of measuring his sword with Harold. He did encounter an English horseman, from whom he received such a stroke upon the helmet that he was nearly brought to the ground. The Normans flew to the aid of their sovereign, and the bold Englishman was pierced by their lances. About the same time the tide of battle took a momentary turn. The Kentish men and East Saxons rallied and repelled the Norman barons ; but Harold was not amongst them, and William led on his troops with desperate intrepidity. In the thick crowds of the assailants and the assailed the hoofs of the horses were plunged deep into the gore of dead and the dying. Gurth was at the foot of the standard without hope, but without fear ; he fell by the falchion of William. The English banner was cut down, and the Gonfanon planted in its place announced that William of Normandy was the conqueror. It was now late in the evening. The English troops were entirely broken, yet no Englishman would surrender. The conflict continued in many parts of the bloody field long after dark.

By William's orders a spot close to the Gonfanon was cleared, and he caused his pavilion to be pitched among the corpses which were heaped around. He there supped with his barons, and they feasted among the dead ; but when he contemplated the fearful slaughter, a natural feeling of pity, perhaps allied to repentance, arose in his stern mind ; and the Abbey of Battle, in which prayer was to be offered up perpetually for the repose of the souls of all who had fallen in the conflict, was at once the monument of his triumph and the token of his piety. The abbey was most richly endowed, and all the land for one league round about was annexed to the Battle franchise. The abbot was freed from the authority of the metropolitan of Canterbury, and invested with archiepiscopal jurisdiction. The high altar was erected on the very spot where Harold's

standard waved ; and the roll deposited in the archives of the monastery recorded the names of those who had fought with the Conqueror, and amongst whom the lands of broad England were divided. But all this pomp and solemnity has passed away like a dream. The "perpetual prayer" has ceased for ever—the roll of Battle is rent. The shields of the Norman lineages are trodden in the dust, the abbey is levelled with the ground, and a dank and reedy pool fills the spot where the foundations of the choir have been uncovered, merely for the gaze of the idle visitor, or the instruction of the moping antiquary.

SUMMARY OF SAXON AND DANISH KINGS FROM EGBERT TO  
HAROLD II.

SAXON.		SAXON.	
Name.	Date of Acces.	Name.	Date of Acces.
1. Egbert .....	827	14. Ethelred II. (the Unready) ..	978
2. Ethelwulf .....	836	15. Edmund II. (Ironside) ..	1016
3. Ethelbald .....	857	DANISH.	
4. Ethelbert .....	860	16. Canute (the Great) .....	1017
5. Ethelred I. ....	866	17. Harold I. (Harefoot) ....	1036
6. Alfred (the Great) .....	872	18. Hardicanute .....	1039
7. Edward I (the Elder) ....	900	SAXON.	
8. Athelstan .....	925	19. Edward II. (the Confessor) ..	1041
9. Edmund I. ....	941	20. Harold II. ....	1066
10. Edred .....	946	CLOSE OF THE SAXON LINE.	
11. Edwy (the Fair) .....	955		
12. Edgar (the Peaceable) .....	959		
13. Edward II. (the Martyr) ..	975		

## PART III.—THE NORMAN DYNASTY (1066—1154).

### I.—WILLIAM I. (THE CONQUEROR), 1066—1087.

#### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. William the Conqueror was born at Falaise in Normandy in 1024. He was crowned King of England at Westminster, December 25, 1066. He died at Hermentrude, near Rouen, September 9, 1087, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the twenty-first of his reign, and was buried at Caen in Normandy.

2. He married Matilda of Flanders, by whom he had four sons—Robert, Richard, William, and Henry, and six daughters, one of whom, Adela, married the Count of Blois, and became the mother of Stephen of Blois.

3. After his coronation William brought the rest of England into subjection and invaded Scotland. Many insurrections were raised in various parts of the country, of which the one headed by Hereward at Ely was the most formidable. Hereward was subdued (1073) and swore allegiance to William.

4. A quarrel arose between William and his eldest son Robert, on account of the latter claiming and invading Normandy (1077). In 1080, after his return, William caused the famous Domesday Book to be commenced : a record of English estates and their liabilities in crown dues at that time.

5. Harsh and tyrannical to his English subjects, all offices of trust during his reign he gave to Normans. His forest laws were unexampled for severity, the life of a bird or a beast being esteemed more valuable than that of a man. In 1085, he laid waste the greater part of Hampshire to make the New Forest.

6. In 1087, he quitted England in consequence of a quarrel with Philip I., king of France, and laid siege to Mantes. After the siege, while riding through the smouldering ruins of the town his horse fell, and William died shortly after of injuries internal caused by the accident.

7. William built the Tower of London, and other fortified castles, with Battle Abbey in Sussex. He parcelled out England into about 60,000 knights' fees, each bound to provide a mounted soldier in time of war, the estates being held on this condition. In his reign Jews from Rouen first took up their residence in England.

8. During his reign Edgar Atheling, son of Edward the Exile and Agatha of Hungary, was in England. This prince was the rightful heir to the English crown—Edward the Exile being the son of Edmund Ironside who was sent into banishment by Canute. Margaret, the sister of Edgar Atheling, married Malcolm III. of Scotland.

#### HOW THE CONQUEROR ESTABLISHED HIS POWER.

[From the "*History of the Norman Conquest*" by Jacques Nicolas Augustin Thierry, a distinguished French historian, who was born at Blois in 1795, and died in 1856. In addition to this he wrote "*Letters on the History of France*," "*Stories of the Times of the Merovingian Kings*," and the "*History of the Third Estate*," as the commons or the representatives of the people were called in France.]

Whilst the army of the King of the Anglo-Saxons and

that of the invaders were confronting each other, a fresh detachment of vessels from Normandy had crossed the Channel to join the great fleet stationed in the roads of Hastings. Their commanders landed by mistake several miles further north, at a place called Rumen-ey, now Romney. The inhabitants of the coast received the Normans as enemies, and a battle took place in which the foreigners were vanquished. William learnt their defeat a few days after his victory, and to spare a similar misfortune to the recruits that he still expected from across the strait, he resolved, first of all, to secure possession of the south-eastern coast.

Instead, therefore, of advancing towards London he marched back to Hastings, and remained there some time, in order to try if his presence might not induce the people of the neighbouring country to submit themselves voluntarily. But receiving no peaceful advances, the Conqueror resumed his march, with the remains of his army and the fresh troops which had arrived in the interval from Normandy. He proceeded along the shore from south to north, devastating all in his course. At Romney, he avenged the defeat of his soldiers by burning the houses and putting the inhabitants to death. From Romney he marched towards Dover, the strongest place on the coast, of which he had formerly attempted to obtain peaceful possession by means of the oath he had extorted from Harold. The fortress of Dover, recently finished by the son of Godwin under happier auspices, was situated on a rock, which naturally rose precipitously from the sea that washed its base, and on which much pains and labour had been expended in trimming it on all sides, so as to render it as smooth as a wall. The details of the siege by the Normans are not known ; all that we learn from historians is that the town of Dover was burnt down, and that, influenced either by terror or treason, the garrison of the fortress surrendered it. William passed eight days at Dover in constructing new walls and works of defence ; then changing his route and discontinuing his course along the coast, he marched towards the metropolis.

The Norman army advanced by the great Roman way,

called by the English Watling Street, the same which had so often served as a common boundary in the divisions of territory between the Saxons and the Danes. This road led from Dover to London through the middle of the province of Kent; the conquerors traversed a portion of it without their passage being disputed, but in one place, where the road approached the Thames, on the border of a forest well adapted for an ambuscade, a large body of armed Saxons suddenly appeared. They were commanded by two priests, Egelsig, abbot of the monastery of St. Augustine at Canterbury, and the archbishop of Canterbury, Stigand, the same who had crowned King Harold. It is not exactly known what occurred in this encounter, whether there was a battle followed by a treaty between the two armies, or whether the capitulation was concluded without fighting. It appears, however, that the army of Kent stipulated for all the inhabitants of that province, who engaged to offer no further resistance to the conquerors, on condition that they should remain as free after the conquest as they had been before it.

In thus treating for themselves and separating their own fate from that of their country, the men of Kent (if indeed it be true that they entered into this compact) acted in a manner more hurtful to the common cause than advantageous to themselves; for no edict of the time gives any evidence that the foreigners kept faith with them, or distinguished them from the rest of the English in their oppressive measures and laws. Archbishop Stigand, either having joined in this capitulation or vainly opposed it (which is the most probable conjecture, considering his proud and intrepid character), quitted the province which had laid down its arms, and repaired to London where submission had not yet been thought of. The inhabitants of this great town, and the chiefs who were assembled there, had resolved to fight a second battle; which, well ordered and ably commanded, would be, to all appearance, more fortunate than the first.

But a supreme commander was needed, under whom all the troops and all volunteers might rally; and the national council, which ought to have named this commander,

delayed making a decision, agitated and divided as it was by divers intrigues and pretensions. Neither of the brothers of the late king, who were men capable of worthily filling his place, had survived the battle of Hastings. Harold had left two sons, who were still very young and too little known to the people ; it does not appear that they were then proposed as claimants to the throne. Amongst all the candidates, the most powerful from their wealth and renown were Edwin and Morcar, brothers-in-law of Harold, the chiefs of Northumbria and Mercia. They had the suffrages of all the men of the north of England ; but the citizens of London, the inhabitants of the south, and some others, set up in opposition to them young Edgar, the nephew of king Edward, who was surnamed Atheling or the Illustrious, on account of his descent from several kings. This young man, feeble-minded and without any acquired reputation, had been unable, a year before, to stand against the popularity of Harold ; but he now outweighed that of the sons of Alfgar, and was supported against them by Stigand himself, and by Eldred, archbishop of York.

Amongst the rest of the bishops, there were several who were in favour neither of Edgar nor of his competitors, but demanded that submission should be made to him who had brought the pope's bull and the consecrated standard. Some of these men were influenced by a sentiment of blind obedience to ecclesiastical power ; others by political cowardice ; and others of foreign origin, and bought beforehand by the foreign pretender, played the part for which they had been paid, either in money or in promises. They did not, however, prevail ; the majority of the great national council fixed their choice on a Saxon, but on the one least fit to command in these trying circumstances—the young nephew of Edward. He was proclaimed king after long hesitation, during which much precious time was lost in useless disputes. His accession did not conduce to rally the unsettled spirit of the nation. Edwin and Morcar, who had engaged to put themselves at the head of the troops assembled in London, retracted their promise, and retired to their governments in the north, taking with them the soldiers of these countries, over whom they had

entire influence. They vainly hoped to be able to defend the northern provinces distinct from the rest of England. Their departure weakened and discouraged those who remained in London with the new king; depression, the fruit of civil discord, succeeded the first ebullition of spirit, and enthusiasm excited by the foreign invasion.

Meanwhile the Norman troops were approaching at several points, and traversing in all directions the provinces of Surrey, Sussex, and Hants, plundering and burning the towns and hamlets, and massacring the men, whether armed or unarmed. Five hundred horse advanced as far as the southern suburb of London, came to an engagement with a body of Saxons who opposed them, and in retreating burnt all the buildings on the right bank of the Thames. William, judging from this proof that the citizens had not yet renounced all intention of defending themselves, instead of approaching and laying siege to London, proceeded towards the west, and crossed the Thames at Wallingford, in the province of Berkshire. He established an intrenched camp in this place, and left troops there to intercept any succour from the western provinces; then directing his course towards the north-east, he himself encamped at Berkhamstead, in Herefordshire, to cut off in the same manner all communication between London and the north, and to prevent the return of the sons of Alfgar, in case they should repent of their inaction. By this manœuvre the Saxon metropolis was hemmed in on all sides. Numerous foraging parties ravaged the environs, and intercepted the supplies, without engaging in any decisive battle. More than once the Londoners gave battle to the Normans, but by degrees they were wearied out, and succumbed, not so much to the strength of the enemy as to the fear of famine, and to the discouraging thought that they were cut off from all succour. King Edgar, the Archbishops Stigand and Eldred, Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester, several other priests, chiefs of high rank, and the principal citizens of the town, obeying necessity, says a contemporary Saxon chronicle, repaired to the Norman camp at Berkhamstead, and there tendered their submission, to the misfortune of their country. They gave hostages to

the foreigner, and took the oaths of peace and fidelity to him, and, in return, he promised to be kind and clement towards them. Then he marched towards London, and, regardless of his promise, permitted everything in his course to be devastated.

## II.—WILLIAM II. (RUFUS), 1087—1100.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. William II. was the third son of William the Conqueror. He was born in Normandy in 1057, and crowned at Westminster October 1, 1087. When hunting in the New Forest he was shot, perhaps accidentally, by an arrow from the bow of Sir Walter Tyrrel, one of his retinue. He died in the 43rd year of his age, and the 13th of his reign, and was buried at Westminster.

2. Normandy had been assigned to Robert by his father, and England given to William; but a plot was formed by the Conqueror's half-brother, Odo, bishop of Bayeux, to give the crown of England to Robert. The conspiracy was crushed by the aid of the Saxons.

3. In 1091, Rufus invaded Normandy, but after a short campaign was reconciled to his brother Robert. After his return he invaded Scotland, in the same year, to avenge a raid into England made by Malcolm III., during his absence. The war was renewed in 1093, a quarrel having arisen about the building of Alnwick Castle by the English, and Malcolm III. and his son Edward were killed while besieging the castle.

4. In 1086, Robert, to obtain funds to join the first Crusade, an expedition for the recovery of Jerusalem from the hands of the Saracens, mortgaged Normandy to his brother William. The Normans, disliking the change of masters, raised the standard of revolt in Maine; but Rufus speedily laid siege to Mans, and reduced the disaffected provinces to submission.

5. In 1100, William II. fell by the hand of Sir Walter Tyrrel, in the New Forest, unlamented by the English, who were crushed and worn out by his exactions and oppressions. Westminster Hall was built in the reign of William II.

### THE FIRST CRUSADE.

*[Abridged from the "History of England," by David Hume, a famous historian and miscellaneous writer, who was born in Edinburgh in 1711, and died in 1776. Among his other works*



may be mentioned his "*Treatise on Human Nature*," "*Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*," and an "*Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*;" but none of them contributed so much to establish his celebrity as his "*History of England*."] ]

After Mahomet had, by means of his pretended revelations, united the dispersed Arabians under one head, they issued forth from their deserts in great multitudes; and, being animated with zeal for their new religion, and supported by the vigour of their new government, they made a deep impression on the Eastern empire, which was very far in the decline, with regard both to military discipline and civil policy. Jerusalem, by its situation, became one of their most early conquests; and the Christians had the mortification to see the Holy Sepulchre and the other places consecrated by the presence of their religious founder, fallen into the possession of infidels. But the Arabians or Saracens were so employed in military enterprises that they had no leisure for theological controversy. They gave little disturbance to those zealous pilgrims who daily flocked to Jerusalem: and they allowed every man, after paying a moderate tribute, to visit the Holy Sepulchre, to perform his religious duties, and to return in peace. But the Turcomans, or Turks, a tribe of Tartars who had embraced Mahometanism, having wrested Syria from the Saracens, and having, in the year 1065, made themselves masters of Jerusalem, rendered the pilgrimage much more difficult and dangerous to the Christians. The barbarity of their manners exposed the pilgrims to many insults, robberies, and extortions; and these zealots, returning from their meritorious fatigues and sufferings, filled all Christendom with indignation against the infidels, who profaned the Holy City by their presence, and derided the sacred mysteries in the very place of their completion.

Peter, commonly called the Hermit, a native of Amiens, in Picardy, had made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Being deeply affected with the dangers to which that act of piety now exposed the pilgrims, he entertained the bold, and, to all appearance, impracticable, project of leading into Asia, from the farthest extremities of the West, armies sufficient to subdue those potent and warlike nations which held

the Holy City in subjection. He proposed his views to Martin II., who filled the papal chair, and who summoned a council at Placentia, which was so numerous that no hall could contain the multitude, and it was necessary to hold the assembly in a plain. The harangues of the pope and of Peter himself, representing the dismal situation of their brethren in the East, found the minds of men so well prepared that the whole multitude suddenly and violently declared for the war, and solemnly devoted themselves to perform this service, so meritorious, as they believed it, to God and religion.

But though Italy seems thus to have zealously embraced this enterprise, Martin knew that in order to insure success it was necessary to enlist the greater and more warlike nations in the same engagement ; and having previously exhorted Peter to visit the chief cities and sovereigns of Christendom, he summoned another council at Clermont, in Auvergne. The fame of this great and pious design being now universally diffused, procured the attendance of the greatest prelates, nobles, and princes ; and when the pope and the hermit renewed their pathetic exhortations, the whole assembly, as if impelled by an immediate inspiration, not moved by their preceding impressions, exclaimed with one voice, "*It is the will of God ; it is the will of God !*" words deemed so memorable and so much the result of the divine influence, that they were employed as a signal of rendezvous and battle in all the future exploits of those adventurers. Men of all ranks flew to arms with the utmost ardour : and an exterior symbol, too, a circumstance of extreme moment, was here chosen by the devoted combatants. The sign of the Cross, which had been hitherto so much revered among Christians, and which, the more it was an object of reproach among the pagan world was the more passionately cherished by them, became the badge of union, and was affixed to their right shoulder by all who enlisted themselves in this sacred warfare.

Robert, duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery and mistaken generosity of his spirit, had early enlisted himself in the crusade ; but being always unprovided with money, he found that it would be impracticable for him to

appear in a manner suitable to his rank and station at the head of his numerous vassals and subjects, who, transported with the general rage, were determined to follow him into Asia. He resolved, therefore, to mortgage, or rather to sell his dominions, which he had not talents to govern, and he offered them to his brother William for the very unequal sum of ten thousand marks. The bargain was soon concluded. The king raised the money by violent extortions on his subjects of all ranks, even on the convents, who were obliged to melt their plate in order to furnish the quota demanded of them. William was put in possession of Normandy and Maine, and Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the Holy Land.

After the adventurers in the holy war were assembled on the banks of the Bosphorus, opposite Constantinople, they proceeded on their enterprise, but immediately experienced those difficulties which their zeal had hitherto concealed from them, and for which, even if they had foreseen them, it would have been almost impossible to provide a remedy. The Greek emperor, Alexis Comnenus, who had applied to the western Christians for succour against the Turks, entertained hopes, and those but feeble ones, of obtaining such a moderate supply as, acting under his command, might enable him to repulse the enemy; but he was extremely astonished to see his dominions overwhelmed on a sudden by such an inundation of licentious barbarians, who, though they pretended friendship, despised his subjects as unwarlike and detested them as heretical.

By all the arts of policy, in which he excelled, he endeavoured to divert the torrent; but while he employed professions, caresses, civilities, and seeming services towards the leaders of the crusade, he secretly regarded those imperious allies as more dangerous than the open enemies by whom his empire had been formerly invaded. Having effected that difficult point of disembarking them safely in Asia, he entered into a private correspondence with Soliman, emperor of the Turks, and practised every insidious art which his genius, his power, or his situation

enabled him to employ, for disappointing the enterprise and discouraging the Latins from making thenceforward any such prodigious migrations.

His dangerous policy was seconded by the disorders inseparable from so vast a multitude, who were not united under one head, and were conducted by leaders of the most independent, intractable spirit, unacquainted with military discipline, and determined enemies to civil authority and submission. The scarcity of provisions, the excesses of fatigue, the influences of unknown climates, joined to the want of concert in their operations and to the sword of a warlike enemy, destroyed the adventurers by thousands, and would have abated the ardour of men impelled to war by less powerful motives. Their zeal, however, their bravery, and their irresistible force still carried them forward, and continually advanced them to the end of their great enterprise. After an obstinate siege they took Nice, the seat of the Turkish empire ; they defeated Soliman in two great battles ; they made themselves masters of Antioch, and entirely broke the force of the Turks, who had so long retained those countries in subjection.

The soldan of Egypt, whose alliance they had hitherto courted, recovered, on the fall of the Turkish power, his former authority in Jerusalem ; and he informed them by his ambassadors that if they came unarmed to that city they might now perform their religious vows, and that all Christian pilgrims who should henceforth visit the Holy Sepulchre might expect the same good treatment which they had ever received from his predecessors. The offer was rejected ; the soldan was required to yield up the city to the Christians ; and on his refusal, the champions of the Cross advanced to the siege of Jerusalem, which they regarded as the consummation of their labours. By the detachments which they had made, and the disasters which they had undergone, they were diminished to the number of twenty thousand foot and fifteen thousand horse ; but these were still formidable from their valour, their experience, and the obedience which, from past calamities, they had learned to pay to their leaders. After a siege of five

weeks they took Jerusalem by assault ; and impelled by a mixture of military and religious rage, they put the numerous garrison and inhabitants to the sword without distinction.

This great event happened on the fifth of July, in the last year of the eleventh century. The Christian princes and nobles, after choosing Godfrey de Bouillon king of Jerusalem, began to settle themselves in their new conquests, while some of them returned to Europe in order to enjoy at home that glory which their valour had acquired them in this popular and meritorious enterprise. Among these was Robert, Duke of Normandy, who, as he had relinquished the greatest dominions of any prince that attended the Crusade, had all along distinguished himself by the most intrepid courage, as well as by that affable disposition and unbounded generosity which gain the hearts of soldiers and qualify a prince to shine in military life. In passing through Italy, he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter of the Count of Conversana, a young lady of great beauty and merit, whom he espoused. Indulging himself in this new passion, as well as being fond of enjoying ease and pleasure after the fatigues of so many rough campaigns, he lingered a twelvemonth in that delicious climate ; and though his friends in the north looked every moment for his arrival, none of them knew with certainty when they could expect it. By this delay he lost the kingdom of England, which the great fame he had acquired during the Crusade, as well as his undoubted title, both by birth and by the preceding agreement with his deceased brother, would, had he been present, have infallibly secured to him.

### III.—HENRY I. (BEAUCLERC), 1100—1135.

#### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Henry I., the fourth son of William the Conqueror, was born at Selby, in Yorkshire, in 1070, and crowned at Westminster, August 6, 1100, four days after his brother's death. He died of a surfeit at St. Denis, in Normandy, December 2, 1135, in the 66th year of his age and the 36th year of his reign, and was buried at Reading Abbey.

2. He married Matilda, of Scotland, granddaughter of Edgar Atheling, the legitimate heir to the English crown, by whom he had a son and daughter. At Matilda's death he married Adelais, of Louvain.

3. The early part of Henry's reign was occupied by disputes with the barons, who showed an inclination to dispute his right to the crown in favour of Robert. The Saxons, however, supported Henry's claim, as he was an Englishman by birth, and had made numerous concessions to them, granting them a charter of liberties.

4. In 1103, Robert landed in England to assert his claim to the crown ; but he resigned his pretensions on receiving a promise from Henry to pay him two thousand pounds of silver yearly as an indemnity for the loss of England.

5. Disputes between the brothers soon recommenced ; Henry invaded Normandy, and took Robert prisoner at the battle of Tenchebrai (1106). Normandy fell into Henry's hands, and Robert was deprived of sight by order of his brother, and imprisoned for life in Cardiff Castle, where he died in 1135.

6. In 1110, Matilda, Henry's little daughter, was married to Henry V., emperor of Germany, and heavy taxes were laid on the English to furnish the marriage dowry.

7. In 1118, Henry was obliged to visit Normandy to quell a rising in favour of his nephew William, the son of Robert. On returning, two years after, his only son, William, heir to England and Normandy, was lost in the wreck of the White Ship (1120).

8. The remainder of Henry's life was passed in gloom and misery. He named his daughter Matilda as his successor, who had contracted a second marriage with Geoffrey, count of Anjou (1127). From this marriage was born, in 1133, at Mans, a son, afterwards Henry II., the founder of the line of the Plantagenets.

9. Henry I. died at St. Denis, in Normandy, in 1135. His reign is remarkable for the introduction into England of the manufacture of woollen stuffs, by Flemish immigrants, who settled in many towns of England and Wales. In 1112, the plague raged in London and other parts of the country.

### THE WRECK OF THE WHITE SHIP.

*[From the "Naval History of England," by Robert Southey, a poet, biographer, and miscellaneous writer of eminence, who was born at Bristol, in 1774, and died March 21st, 1843. He was made poet laureate in 1813. To give even the names of a tithe of his voluminous writings is impossible ; but among his poems may*

be named "*Thalaba the Destroyer*," and the "*Curse of Kehama*;" among his historical works, the "*Naval History of England*," and the "*History of Brazil*;" and, among his biographical works, the "*Life of Lord Nelson*." His "*Book of the Church*," "*The Doctor*," and "*Common Place Book*," evince marvellous research and a wide range of reading.]

While his elder brother was preparing an armament in Normandy for the purpose of asserting his right to the English crown, the Red King permitted his subjects to fit out cruisers; and these adventurers, who seem to have been the first that may be called privateers, rendered him good service, for the Normans, knowing that there was no navy to oppose them, and that when they landed they were more likely to be received by their friends and confederates than to be attacked before they were collected in sufficient numbers for defence, began to cross the Channel, each at their own convenience, without concert or any regard to mutual support; and so many of them were intercepted and destroyed by these enemies, that the attempt at invasion was in consequence abandoned. The remainder of Rufus's reign, short as it was, sufficed through his own vigorous policy and the carelessness of his antagonist, for him to acquire a superiority at sea, which enabled him at any time to invade Normandy.

Once, when he was hunting, a messenger from beyond sea brought him news that the city of Mans, which he had added to his possessions, was besieged. He instantly turned his horse and set off for the nearest port. The nobles who were in his company reminded him that it was necessary to call out troops, and wait for them. "I shall see who will follow me," was his reply; "and, if I understand the temper of the youth of this country, I shall have people enough." Waiting for nothing he reached the port almost unattended, and embarked immediately, although it blew a storm. The sailors intreated him to have patience till the weather should abate, and the wind become more favourable. But he made answer: "I never heard of a king that was shipwrecked; weigh anchor, and you will see that the winds will be with us." He has been extolled for this act of characteristic impatience and resolution, because the

event happened to be fortunate: celerity was of great importance, and the news of his landing, as it was supposed that he came in force, sufficed for raising the siege.

It was not in him a bravado imitation of Cæsar—that well-known story was known to very few in those ages; the Red King had neither inclination nor leisure for learning; and it was even more in character with him than with Cæsar, the act itself being of more daring and less reasonable hardihood. On the other hand, he has been condemned, and with more justice, as manifesting here a spirit of audacious impiety, for which, among his other vices, he was peculiarly noted; and there are writers who, falling into an opposite extreme, have presumed to say that this special sin was visited by a special judgment upon the person of his nephew Prince William—the pride and hope of his father, and indeed of the English nation, who saw in him the representative by his mother's side of the old Anglo-Saxon line. William's bravado would no doubt be remembered after that catastrophe with poignant feelings by the bereaved father; but Henry Beauclerc had in his own conscience an unerring witness that his own sins of ambition had too surely deserved such a chastisement. Many shipwrecks have been attended with far greater loss of life, and with far more dreadful circumstances; but none can ever have produced so general an emotion in this country, nor has any single event ever been the occasion here of so much national sufferings as this which opened the way for Stephen's usurpation.

After a successful campaign in France, happily concluded, through the pope's mediation, by a peace, Henry embarked from Barfleur for England with this, his only legitimate son, then recently married and in his seventeenth year. One of the finest vessels in the fleet was a galley of fifty oars, called the *White Ship*, and commanded by a certain Thomas Fitz Stephens, whose grandfather had carried over the Conqueror when he invaded the kingdom which he won. Upon this ground Fitz Stephens solicited the honour of now conveying the king upon an occasion as much more joyful as it was less momentous. Henry was pleased with a request preferred for such a motive; and though, having



chosen a vessel for himself, he did not think proper to alter his own arrangements, he left Prince William, with the rest of his family and their friends and attendants, to take their passage in the *White Ship*, and embarking towards evening on the 25th of November, in fair weather, he sailed for England. There were with the prince his natural brother Richard ; and their sister, the Lady Marie, countess of Perche, Richard, earl of Chester, with his wife, who was the king's niece, and her brother, the prince's governor, and the flower of the young nobility both of Normandy and England, one hundred and forty in number, eighteen being women of the first rank ; these and their retinue amounting with the crew to about three hundred persons. The prince, being detained a little after his father, imprudently ordered three casks of wine to be distributed among the men ; and the captain as well as the sailors drank in the joy of his heart too freely, and promised to overtake every ship that had sailed before them.

Accordingly he hoisted all sail and plied all oars. The evening had closed before they started, but it was bright moonlight ; the men exerted themselves under all the excitement of hilarity and pride of emulation, dreaming of no danger ; the captain and the helmsman, under the same excitement, were unmindful of any ; and when the ship was going through the water with all the stress of oars and sails, she struck upon a rock called the *Catee-raze*, with such violence that several planks were started and she immediately began to fill. A boat was immediately lowered and the prince was escaping in it—which he might easily have done, for the shore was at no great distance—when his sister, whom there had been no time to take off, or who in the horror of the moment had been forgotten, shrieked out to him to save her.

It was better to die than turn a deaf ear to that call : he ordered the boat to put back and take her in ; but such numbers leapt into it, at the same time, that the boat was swamped, and all perished. The ship, also, presently went down with all on board : only two persons, the one a young nobleman, son of Gilbert de Aquila, the other a

butcher of Rouen, saved themselves : by climbing the masts and clinging to the top, they kept their heads above water. Fitz Stephens rose after the vessel had sunk, and might have taken the same chance of preservation ; but calling to mind, after the first instinctive effort, that he had been the unhappy occasion of this great calamity, and dreading the reproaches, and perhaps the punishment that awaited him, he preferred present death as the least evil. The youth became exhausted during the night, and commending his poor companion to God's mercy with his last words, he lost his hold and sank. The butcher held on till morning, when he was seen from the shore and saved ; and from him, being the only survivor, the circumstances of the tragedy were learnt.

#### IV—STEPHEN OF BLOIS, 1135—1154.

##### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Stephen, the grandson of William the Conqueror, the last of the Norman line of kings was born at Blois in 1104. He was crowned at Westminster, December 26, 1135, and died at Canterbury, October 25, 1154, in the 50th year of his age, and the 19th year of his reign. He was buried at Faversham Abbey.

2. Stephen married Maud of Boulogne by whom he had three sons and two daughters. He claimed the throne after the death of Henry I., as nearest heir-male to William the Conqueror, and in right of being the holder of large estates in England through his marriage with Maud of Boulogne. His claims were admitted in England and Normandy to the prejudice of Matilda and her son.

3. In 1137, Robert of Gloucester, half-brother of Matilda, and natural son of Henry I., raised an insurrection in Matilda's favour. In the following year England was invaded by David of Scotland, and the Battle of the Standard was fought between the English and Scotch at North Allerton (August 22, 1138).

4. Stephen fell into the hands of Matilda in 1141, but regained his liberty towards the close of the year. After a series of struggles for supremacy, Robert of Gloucester died of a fever in 1147 ; and Matilda, despairing of gaining the crown, left England.

5. Henry, her son, then Count of Anjou, married Eleanor, the divorced queen of Louis VII. of France, and so became lord of the provinces of Poitou, Guienne, and Aquitaine in France, in right of his wife (1152).

6. Strengthened by these possessions he landed in England to claim the crown of his grandfather; but Stephen, unwilling to be the cause of further bloodshed, proposed a conference at Wallingford, at which the young prince was declared Stephen's successor (1153).

7. Stephen died in the following year. He was a brave man and kindly disposed to his subjects; but owing to the civil wars, civilisation and the arts of peace made but little progress in his reign.

### THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARD.

[*Abridged and adapted from the History of the Norman Conquest, by Jacques Nicolas Augustin Thierry. See page 59.*]

For a long time the emissaries of the English people had flocked to the court of the Scotch kings, who were nephews of the last of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs, to implore them, by the memory of their uncle Edgar, to come to the assistance of the oppressed nation to whom they were bound by ties of kindred. But the sons of Malcolm Canmore were deaf to the complaints of the English and to the suggestions of their own courtiers during the lifetime of Henry I., with whom they were also connected by his wife Matilda, the daughter of Malcolm. When Henry made the Norman barons swear to give the kingdom after his death to his daughter Matilda, David, then king of Scotland, was present at the assembly, and took the oath with the Normans as the vassal of Henry I.; but when the nobles of England, regardless of their vow, chose Stephen of Blois, instead of Matilda, the king of Scotland began to think that the Saxon cause was lost, and assembled an army and marched towards the south. It was not in the name of the oppressed Saxon race that he made his entry into England, but in the name of his cousin Matilda, dispossessed, he said, by Stephen of Blois, usurper of the kingdom.

The English people had no more affection for the wife of Geoffrey of Anjou than for Stephen of Blois; but, nevertheless, the population nearest the borders of Scotland, impelled

by the instinct which causes men to seize eagerly every means of relief, received the Scotch as friends, and came to the Scotch camp in great numbers, and without any order, on little mountain ponies, which were their only property.

In general, with the exception of the knights of Norman or French origin that the king of Scotland brought in his train, and who wore complete and uniform suits of mail, the greater part of his troops presented a most disorderly variety of arms and habiliments. The inhabitants of the eastern part of the Lowlands, men of Danish or Saxon descent, formed the heavy infantry, armed with cuirasses and great spears. The inhabitants of the west, and especially of Galloway, who still retained strong marks of their British descent, were, like the ancient Britons, without defensive armour, and carried long sharp-pointed javelins, with slender, fragile shafts. Lastly, the true Scottish race, both mountaineers and islanders, wore bonnets adorned with the feathers of wild birds, and with large plaids fastened round the body by a shoulder belt of leather, to which hung a broadsword called the *claymore*; they carried on the left arm a round buckler of light wood covered with a thick hide; and some of the Highland clans had armed themselves with two-handled battleaxes in the manner of the Scandinavians. The armour of the chiefs was the same as that of the clansmen, the only distinctive mark being their longer and lighter plumes waving more gracefully than those of their retainers.

This army appears to have committed many cruelties in the places which it traversed; and the principal Normans in the north, and especially Toustain, the archbishop of York, took advantage of the report of these barbarities, which were spread in a vague and exaggerated form, to prevent the minds of the Saxon inhabitants of the banks of the Humber from being inspired with the interest which they would naturally feel in the cause of the enemies of their enemies. In order to induce their subjects to join them against the Scottish king, the Normans also were cunning enough to awaken the ancient local superstitions. They invoked the names of the saints of the English race, that they themselves had formerly treated with so much

contempt ; they made them, in a manner, generalissimos of their army, and Archbishop Toustain unfurled the banners of St. Cuthbert of Durham, St. John of Beverley, and St. Wilfred of Ripon.

The popular standards, which since the conquest had probably hardly ever seen the light of day, were dragged out of the dust of the churches to be carried to Elferton—now Allerton—thirty-two miles north of York, the place at which the Norman chiefs resolved to await the enemy. William Piperel and Walter Espee, of the county of Nottingham, and Gilbert de Lacy and his brother, of the county of York, were the commanders. The archbishop was prevented by illness from being there, and he sent in his place Raoul, bishop of Durham, who had probably been expelled from his church by the invasion of the Scotch. An instinct, half religious, half patriotic, caused a great number of the English inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and plains to flock to the camp at Allerton, and to enlist themselves under the Saxon banners erected by the lords of a foreign race. They no longer carried the great battleaxe, the favourite weapon of their ancestors, but were armed with large bows and arrows two cubits long. The Conquest had effected this change in two different ways. Such of the natives as had submitted to serve in battle under their foreign masters for bread and for pay had, of course, accustomed themselves to Norman tactics ; and those who, being more independent, had embraced the life of guerillas on the roads and free hunters in the forests, had in the same manner laid aside the arms suitable for close combat for others more capable of reaching the Norman knights or the king's deer. The sons of each having been since their infancy exercised in drawing the bow, England had become, in less than a century, the land of good archers, as Scotland was that of good spearmen.

Whilst the Scotch army was passing the river Tees, the Normans were actively preparing to receive its attack. They set up a mast of a ship on four wheels, and on it placed a small box containing the consecrated elements, and around this box were hung the banners which were to excite the English to fight with spirit. This standard, of a

kind very common in the Middle Ages, occupied the centre of the army during the battle. The flower of the Norman chivalry, says an ancient historian, stationed themselves around it, after having confederated together by faith and oath, and having sworn to remain united in defence of their territory in life, and to the death.

The Scotch army, with only a lance for a standard, marched, divided into several bodies. Young Henry, the son of the Scotch king, commanded the Lowlanders and the English volunteers of Cumberland and Northumberland. The king himself was at the head of all the mountain and island clans, and the knights of Norman origin, completely armed, formed his guard. One of these, called Robert de Brus (Bruce), a man of advanced age, who held for the Scotch king by reason of his fief of Annandale, and had no cause for personal enmity against his countrymen of England, approached the king at the moment when he was about to give the signal of attack, and with an air of melancholy, thus spoke to him : " Oh, king, hast thou considered against whom thou art going to fight ? It is against the Normans and the English, who have always served thee so well with advice and arms, and have assisted thee to bring into subjection thy people of the Gallic race. Thou thinkest thyself quite sure of the submission of these tribes ; thou hopest to be able to maintain them in subjection with the assistance only of the Scotch men-at-arms, but reflect that it is we who have reduced them to obedience, and that this is the cause of the hatred with which they are animated against our countrymen." This discourse appeared to make a great impression upon the King of Scotland, but his nephew William exclaimed impatiently, " These are the words of a traitor." The old Norman only replied to this affront by immediately retracting, according to the forms of the age, his oath of fealty and homage, and galloped towards the enemy.

Then the Highlanders who surrounded the king raising their voices shouted the ancient name of their country, *Alben ! Alben !* This was the signal for the combat. The men of Cumberland, of Liddisdale, and Teviotdale made a firm, quick charge upon the centre of the Norman army,

and, as an ancient narrator expresses it, broke it like a cobweb ; but being ill-supported by the other Scotch divisions they could not reach the standard of the Anglo-Normans. These latter formed again and repulsed the assailants with loss, and in the second charge the long javelins of the Scots of the south-west were broken against the mailed hauberks and the shields of the Normans. The Highlanders then drew their broadswords to come to close combat, but the Saxon archers, extending themselves on the flanks, assailed them with a shower of arrows, while the Norman knights charged them in the front, in close ranks and with lances couched. "It was a fine sight," says a contemporary, "to see these stinging flies start buzzing from the bows of the southern men and darken the air like thick dust."

The Gaels, hardy and brave, but little practised in regular evolutions, dispersed immediately that they found themselves incapable of breaking the enemy's ranks. The whole Scotch army, forced to make a retreat, drew back towards the Tyne. The conquerors did not pursue them beyond that river ; and the extent of country which had revolted on the approach of the Scotch remained, notwithstanding their defeat, free from the Norman dominion. For a long time after this battle Westmorland and Northumberland were part of the Scotch kingdom. The new political state of these three provinces prevented the Anglo-Saxon character from dying out there so quickly as in the southern part of England ; the national traditions and popular romances survived and were perpetuated north of the Tyne. From thence the old English poetry, all traces of which had been lost in places inhabited by the Normans, in which a foreign poetry had replaced it, again appeared at a later time in the southern provinces.

#### SUMMARY OF KINGS OF THE NORMAN DYNASTY.

Name.	Date of Access.	Name.	Date of Access.
1. William I. (the Conqueror)	1066	Henry I. (Beauclerc)	1100
2. William II. (Rufus)	1087	Stephen (of Blois)	1135

DURATION OF THE NORMAN DYNASTY, from 1066 to 1153.

## PART IV.—FEUDALISM AND CHIVALRY.

## HISTORICAL NOTICE.

It must be plain to the reader, from the portions of history already cited, and especially those relating to the "Battle of Hastings" and the "First Crusade," that the chief and greatest institutions of the Middle Ages were Feudalism and its offspring Chivalry, and it is found a fitting resting point between the Norman and Plantagenet dynasties whereat to stay awhile and examine their nature, and the influences which each exerted on society in manners, customs, and tenure of property. The following extracts from Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates" (1868) will afford the best and most complete epitome of the rise, progress, and extinction of each, while the selections that follow will clearly show their nature and scope, and the principles on which they were based.

*Feudal Laws.*—The tenure of land by suit and service to the lord or owner was introduced into England by the Saxons about 600. This slavery was increased in 1068. The kingdom was divided into baronies, which were given on condition of the holders furnishing the king with men and money. The vassalage restored and limited by Henry VII. (1495) was abolished by statute, 1660; the feudal system was introduced into Scotland by Malcolm II. in 1008, and the hereditary jurisdiction were finally abolished in that kingdom 1746-7. The feudal laws established in France by Clovis I., about 486, were discountenanced by Louis XI. in 1470.

*Chivalry* arose out of the feudal system in the latter part of the 8th century (*chevalier* or knight, being derived from the *caballarius*, the equipped feudal tenant on horseback). From the 12th to the 15th century it tended to refine manners. The knight swore to accomplish the duties of his profession as the champion of God and the ladies, to speak the truth, to maintain the right, to protect the distressed, to practise courtesy, to fulfil obligations, and to vindicate in every perilous adventure his honour and character. Chivalry expired with the feudal system. By letters patent of James I., the earl marshal of England had "the like jurisdiction in the *Courts of Chivalry* when the office of the lord high constable was vacant, as this latter and the marshal did jointly exercise."



## THE FEUDAL SYSTEM—ITS ORIGIN AND PROGRESS.

[*Abridged and adapted from a "History of France," by Emile de Bonnechose, a French historian of considerable eminence, who has also written a "History of England," and acquired celebrity as a dramatist. He was born in 1801.*]

The accession of Hugh Capet to the throne of France, after the extinction of the Carlovingian kings, inaugurated the feudal monarchy, which lasted from his time to that of Francis I., and had for result the development of the feudal system by consolidating it. Under the Merovingian kings the lords had rendered the cession of benefices (or places of emolument and office or estates granted by the crown) irrevocable, and made them hereditary in their families, and as the German customs authorised the possessors of estates to regard as their own property not only the soil acquired, but also everything that existed on the soil at the moment of cession or conquest, they soon persuaded themselves that they had a right to exercise civil, judicial, and military power in their domains by virtue of their sole title as owners. Authority was consequently established by possession, and by a strange fiction power was attached to the land itself. Such was in France the origin of feudalism, and from thence it spread under the same conditions into other countries.

Under the second race, namely, the Carlovingian kings, the sovereigns ever sacrificing the future to the present, had in turn abandoned to the dukes and counts all the regal or royal rights—those of raising troops, administering justice, coining money, making peace or war, and fortifying themselves; and from the moment when they recognised the transmission of offices to the next heir as legal, the dukes and counts regarded themselves as possessors of the provinces in which their will was law. While in reality independent of the crown, the majority, however, still remained subordinate to it by the bond of the oath of fidelity. They distributed of their own free will domains among the nobles, who received them on faith and homage; and the latter granted inferior benefices to freemen upon the same title. A great number of independent proprietors,

alarmed by the ravages of external foes, and the commotion of civil discords, sought support from their powerful neighbours, and obtained it by doing them homage for their lands, which they received back from the lords to whom they offered them as fiefs, the possession of which henceforth entailed the obligation of rendering faithful service to the suzerain. Thus he who gave a territorial estate in fief became the suzerain of him who received it on this title, and the latter was called a vassal or liegeman. But it must not be supposed that land alone could be the object of a feudal concession. Immaterial things, such as a large number of rights, were also constituted into fiefs, and conceded on the same conditions. Amongst these may be mentioned the rights of fishing and hunting, of establishing taxes on highways and rivers, and the exclusive right of grinding corn, etc. The landholders and holders of fiefs of any kind were thus considered throughout the entire extent of the kingdom as subjects or vassals of each other. This system, which extended to the provinces as well as to simple private domains, established a connecting link between all parts of the territory. In the feudal hierarchy the first rank belonged to the country or state which bore the title of kingdom, and to this all other ranks were subordinate in regular gradation.

The first portion of this period resembles an interregnum in which the king was only distinguished from other lords by honorary prerogatives. Each fortress of any importance gave its owner rank among the sovereigns ; and as the civil discords made the nobles feel the necessity of attaching to themselves a considerable number of men for their personal security, they divided their domains into a multitude of lots, which they gave in fief, granting to their vassals permission to fortify themselves ; and thus a number of castles were erected round the principal fortress.

It is the general opinion that doing homage for a fief ennobled, and the nobility thus sprang up to a great extent from the ninth to the tenth century. The right granted to subjects of providing for their own defence arrested the devastations of foreigners, strengthened the national character, revived a feeling of self-respect among the members

of a numerous class, and authorised them in demanding equal politeness from those from whom they held estates, as well as from those to whom they ceded them, the feudal contract being annulled by the violation of the obligations contracted on either side. This new subordination was partly based on the faith of the oath ; and respect in sworn fidelity and loyalty thus became one of the distinctive traits in the character of the nobility. The following was the formula of the oath pronounced by the vassal on asking the investiture of his fief : " Sire, I come to your homage, in your faith, and become your man of mouth and hands, and swear and promise to you faith and loyalty toward all and against all, and to keep your right in my power."

The principal obligations contracted by the vassal under this system were to bear arms for a certain number of days on every military expedition ; to recognise the jurisdiction of the suzerain, and to pay the feudal aids—a species of tax raised for the ransom of the lord if he were made prisoner, or on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest daughter, or when his son was made a knight. Whenever a fief passed from one to another, either by inheritance or by sale, a fee was paid to the suzerain, who, on his side, promised his liegeman justice and protection. On these conditions the vassal was independent on his own land, and enjoyed the same rights, and was bound by the same duties towards his own vassals, as his suzerain.

When a peer was summoned before the rest, the king presided in early feudal times at the trial. All laws, conventions, and usages relating to the holders of fiefs, concerned the holders of fiefs only ; the people were counted as nothing ; and the nobles and gentry, isolated from them in their habitations and through their privileges, were even more distinguished by their dress and weapons. It was thus that they kept the wretched and defenceless population in subjection. The military art underwent a change, and the cavalry henceforth became the strength of armies. Bodily exercises, equitation, the management of the lance and sword, were the sole occupation of the nobility, and the sale of arms one of the principal trades in Europe. The first period of feudalism witnessed the birth of chivalry, respect for women, and modern languages and poetry.

Such were the chief effects of this system as concerned the general policy and interests of the nobility. We have now to examine it in its relations with the church and the people.

The clergy, at the period of the progressive establishment of the feudal system, saw with terror the great vassals encroaching on their domains, and soon comprehended that, as all the authority was in the hands of possessors of fiefs, they must themselves form part of the new confederation. They therefore did homage for the church domains, and then divided them into numerous lots, converting them into fiefs, and thus obtaining suzerains and vassals. As the obligation of military service was inseparable from the possession of fiefs, the clergy were subjected to it like all the other vassals ; they took up arms at the summons of their suzerains, and constrained their liegemen to fight for them. From this time a great number of bishops and abbots lived the lives of nobles ; arms occupied them as much as the religious services, and they neglected the most sacred duties of religion for the licence of camps. Whenever the clergy did not embrace a martial life, the temporal lord obtained an immense advantage over them ; and the bishops and abbots often found it necessary to place themselves under the protection of a noble who was paid to defend them. The clergy, through these feudal organisations, were diverted from the object of their institution, the people more rarely obtained consolation and succour at their hands, and most of the dignitaries of the church joined the ranks of the oppressors.

An immense majority of the people lived in a servile condition ; and it may be fairly said that at the end of the 10th century there was no middle class between the nobles, the sole possessors of all the enjoyments of life, and the wretches whose humble cabins surrounded their castles, and who were called *serfs*, or men of servitude attached to the glebe—that is to say, to the land they cultivated. They were bought and sold with the land, and were unable to leave it of their own accord to establish themselves elsewhere when they found themselves too cruelly oppressed. They possessed nothing of their own ; neither the huts in

which they lived, nor their implements of labour, nor the fruit of their toil, nor their time, nor their children. Everything belonged to the lord ; and if they were guilty of any fault in his sight they could not invoke for their defence any law or authority, for the right of seignorial justice of life and death was absolute.

The condition of the freemen who did not hold fief, and lived on seignorial domains, seems to have been equally deplorable. Designated as villeins, they hardly enjoyed the right of marrying whom they thought proper, or of disposing of their property as they pleased. They were gradually crushed by intolerable burdens, or subjected to humiliating obligations ; they had not the slightest protection, and had incessantly to fear the imposition of some fine or the confiscation of their goods. A great number of them took refuge in the towns, where equally great evils followed them. The counts exercised there over them an authority equal to that of the seigneurs on their lands ; the tolls and dues of every description were infinitely multiplied, and the towns were eventually subjected, like the country, to arbitrary imposts. They were obliged to keep their lord and his people when he came within their walls ; provisions, furniture, horses, vehicles—in short, everything they possessed was taken by main force from the inhabitants, at the caprice of the master or his followers, without payment or compensation of any kind. In a word, all social force and influence resided in the possessors of fiefs, who alone had liberty, power, and enjoyment.

#### CHIVALRY—ITS CUSTOMS AND USAGES.

[*Selected from the writings of William Robertson, author of a "History of Scotland during the Reigns of Queen Mary and King James VI., till his accession to the Crown of England," a "History of the Reign of Charles V.," a "History of America," and a "Historical Disquisition upon Ancient India." He was born at Borthwick, near Edinburgh, in 1721, and entered the Church in 1743. He first became known as a historian in 1759, and shortly after became principal of the University of Edinburgh and historiographer for Scotland. He died in 1793.*]

Among uncivilised nations there is but one profession honourable—that of arms. All the ingenuity and vigour of the human mind are exerted in acquiring military skill or address. The functions of peace are few and simple, and require no particular course of education or of study as a preparation for discharging them. This was the state of Europe during several centuries. Every gentleman, born a soldier, scorned any other occupation. He was taught no science but that of war; even his exercises and pastimes were feats of martial prowess. Nor did the judicial character, which persons of noble birth were alone entitled to assume, demand any degree of knowledge beyond that which such untutored soldiers possessed. To recollect a few traditionary customs which time had confirmed and rendered respectable, to mark out the lists of battle with due formality, to observe the issue of the combat, and to pronounce whether it had been conducted according to the laws of arms, included everything that a baron, who acted as a judge, found it necessary to understand.

But when the forms of legal proceedings were fixed, when the rules of decision were committed to writing and collected into a body, law became a science, the knowledge of which required a regular course of study, together with long attention to the practice of courts.

Martial and illiterate nobles had neither leisure or inclination to undertake a task so laborious, as well as so foreign from all the occupations which they deemed entertaining or suitable to their rank. They gradually relinquished their places in courts of justice, where their ignorance exposed them to contempt. They became weary of attending to the discussion of cases which grew too intricate for them to comprehend. Not only the judicial determination of points which were the subject of controversy, but the conduct of all legal business and transactions were committed to persons trained by previous study and application to the knowledge of law. An order of men to whom their fellow-citizens had daily recourse for advice, and to whom they looked up for decision in their most important concerns, naturally acquired consideration and influence in society. They were advanced to honours which had been considered

hitherto as the peculiar rewards of military virtue. They were entrusted with offices of the highest dignity and most extensive power. Thus another profession than that of arms came to be introduced among the laity, and was reputed honourable. The functions of civil life were attended to : the talents requisite for discharging them were cultivated. A new road was opened to wealth and eminence. The arts and virtues of peace were placed in their proper rank and received their due recompense.

While improvements so important with respect to the state of society and the administration of justice gradually made progress in Europe, sentiments more liberal and generous had begun to animate the nobles. These were inspired by the spirit of chivalry, which, though considered commonly as a wild institution, the effects of caprice and the source of extravagance, arose naturally from the state of society at that period, and had a very serious influence in refining the manners of the European nations. The feudal state was a state of almost perpetual war, rapine, and anarchy, during which the weak and unarmed were exposed to insults or injuries. The power of the sovereign was too limited to prevent these wrongs, and the administration of justice too feeble to redress them. The most effectual protection against violence and oppression was often found to be that which the valour and generosity of private persons afforded. The same spirit of enterprise which had prompted so many gentlemen to take arms in defence of the oppressed pilgrims in Palestine, incited others to declare themselves the patrons and avengers of injured innocence at home. When the final reduction of the Holy Land under the dominion of infidels put an end to these foreign expeditions, the latter was the only employment left for the activity and courage of adventurers. To check the insolence of overgrown oppressors ; to rescue the helpless from captivity ; to protect or to avenge women, orphans, and ecclesiastics, who could not bear arms in their own defence ; to redress wrongs and remove grievances, were deemed acts of the highest prowess and merit. Valour, humanity, courtesy, justice, honour, were the characteristic qualities of chivalry. To these were added religion, which

mingled itself with every passion and institution during the Middle Ages, and, by infusing a large proportion of enthusiastic zeal, gave them such force as carried them to romantic excess. Men were trained to knighthood by a long previous discipline; they were admitted into the order by solemnities no less devout than pompous. Every person of noble birth courted that honour; it was deemed a distinction superior to royalty, and monarchs were proud to receive it from the hands of private gentlemen.

This singular institution, in which valour, gallantry, and religion were so strangely blended, was wonderfully adapted to the taste and genius of martial nobles, and its effects were soon visible in their manners. War was carried on with less ferocity when humanity came to be deemed the ornament of knighthood no less than courage. More gentle and polished manners were introduced when courtesy was recommended as the most amiable of knightly virtues. Violence and oppression decreased when it was reckoned meritorious to check and to punish them. A scrupulous adherence to truth, with the most religious attention to fulfil every engagement, became the distinguishing characteristic of a gentleman, because chivalry was regarded as the school of honour, and inculcated the most delicate sensibility with respect to those points. The admiration of these qualities, together with the high distinctions and prerogatives conferred on knighthood in every part of Europe, inspired persons of noble birth on some occasions with a species of military fanaticism, and led them to extravagant enterprises; but they deeply imprinted on their minds the principles of generosity and honour. These were strengthened by everything that can affect the senses or touch the heart. The wild exploits of those romantic knights who sallied forth in quest of adventures are well known, and have been treated with proper ridicule. The political and permanent effects of the spirit of chivalry have been less observed. Perhaps the humanity which accompanies all the operations of war, the refinements of gallantry and the point of honour—the three chief circumstances which distinguish modern from ancient manners—may be ascribed in a great measure to



this institution, which has appeared whimsical to superficial observers, but by its effects has proved of great benefit to mankind. The sentiments which chivalry inspired had a wonderful influence on manners and conduct during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries. They were so deeply rooted that they continued to operate after the vigour and reputation of the institution itself began to decline.

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## PART V.—THE PLANTAGENET DYNASTY.

(1154—1485.)

### I.—HENRY II., 1154—1189.

#### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Henry II. was born at Mans, in Normandy, in 1133, and crowned at Westminster, December 19th, 1154. He died at Chinon in Normandy, July 6th, 1189, in the 57th year of his age and the 35th of his reign. He was buried at Fontevrault.

2. He married Eleanor, the divorced queen of Louis VII. of France, by whom he had six sons and three daughters. His accession was acceptable to the Saxons on account of his descent from Alfred the Great, through his grandmother Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling.

3. In this reign Thomas à Becket (the son of Gilbert à Becket, a Saxon yeoman, and a Saracen princess who received the name of Matilda at her baptism), a man of the people, rose to the second dignity in the realm. He was made Chancellor of the Kingdom in 1156.

4. In the following year the Welsh crossed the border, and Henry was compelled to reduce them to submission by force of arms. The power of the clergy had greatly increased, and every act, public and private, was subject to their influence. They even refused to submit to the civil authority when guilty of the most heinous crimes.

5. To check their pride and growing power Henry created Thomas à Becket Archbishop of Canterbury [1163]; but when he became a priest, Thomas à Becket, contrary to Henry's expectation, sided with his order. Articles, called the "Constitutions of Clarendon," were drawn up at Clarendon, in Wiltshire (1164), which Becket and the priests signed.

6. Shortly after Becket excommunicated many bishops and

nobles who upheld the "Constitutions," and withdrew to France. The king was reconciled to him at Paris [1169], after which Becket returned to England, but, persisting in his former course of excommunicating his enemies, he was murdered by four barons at the foot of the high altar in Canterbury Cathedral [1170].

7. These barons had acted on a hasty expression against Becket let fall by Henry, so that the clergy viewed him as the author of Becket's death. Henry was absolved by Pope Adrian IV., only on condition of doing penance at Becket's tomb, an alternative to which he gladly submitted.

8. In 1171, Henry invaded Ireland, having been called in by the King of Leinster (who acknowledged himself to be a vassal of the English crown) to protect his territory some years previously. Henry then received the submission of many of the Irish nobles, and in 1175 Ireland became a part of Henry's dominions by treaty.

9. Henry suffered much through the misconduct of his family. In 1172, Prince Henry, who had been crowned King of England during his father's lifetime, demanded either England or Normandy, and, on Henry's refusal, commenced war against his father in Normandy, assisted by his brothers Richard and Geoffrey. In succeeding years Henry and his sons were continually at variance among themselves. Prince Henry, his eldest son, died in 1184, and Geoffrey, his second son, was killed at a tournament in 1186.

10. War with Scotland had broken out in 1174, which was ended by the capture of the Scottish king, William the Lion. In 1187, fresh troubles arose for Henry, through the rebellion of his son Richard, who was supported by Philip II., king of France. These differences were temporarily suspended by a resolution formed by the French and English kings to take part in the Crusade then preparing.

11. Their preparations were interrupted by fresh quarrels. Richard declared himself the vassal of the king of France: Henry's nobles deserted him; and, while on the point of making a humiliating treaty with France, he died, miserable and broken-hearted, cursing himself and his rebellious children.

12. Although ambitious and selfish in character, Henry seems to have endeavoured always to act for the benefit of the people, and the promotion of their interests, protecting them against the oppression of the barons, granting charters to the towns, and encouraging trade and commerce.

## THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND.

[*Abridged from a History of England, by Edmund Burke. For biographical notice see page 27.*]

After the death of Becket the king resolved on the execution of a design by which he reduced under his dominion a country not more separated from the rest of Europe by its situation than by the laws, customs, and way of life of its inhabitants ; for the people of Ireland, with no difference but that of religion, still retained the native manners of the original Celts. The king had meditated this design from the very beginning of his reign, and had obtained a bull from the then pope, Adrian IV., an Englishman, to authorise the attempt. He well knew, from the internal weakness and advantageous situation of this noble island, the easiness and importance of such a conquest. But at this particular time he was strongly urged to his engaging personally in the enterprise by two other powerful motives. For, first, the murder of Becket had bred very ill-humour in his subjects, the chief of whom, always impatient of a long peace, were glad of any pretence for rebellion. It was, therefore, expedient and serviceable for the crown to find an employment abroad for this spirit, which could not extol itself without being destructive at home. And next, as he had obtained the grant of Ireland from the pope, upon condition of subjecting it to Peterpence, he knew that the speedy performance of this condition would greatly facilitate his recovering the good graces of the Court of Rome.

The Irish were divided into a number of tribes or clans, each clan forming within itself a separate government. It was ordered by a chief, who was not raised to that dignity either by election, or by ordinary course of descent, but as the eldest and worthiest of the blood of the deceased lord. This order of succession, called Tanistry, was said to have been invented in the time of the Danish troubles, lest the tribe, during a minority, should have been endangered for want of a sufficient leader. It was probably much more ancient ; but it was, however, attended with very great and pernicious inconveniences, as it was obviously an affair of

difficulty to determine who should be called the worthiest of the blood ; and a door being always left open for ambition, this order introduced a greater mischief than it was intended to remedy. Almost every tribe, besides its contention with the neighbouring tribes, nourished faction and discontent within itself. The chiefs we speak of were in general called Tierna or lords, and those of more consideration Riagh or kings ; over these were placed five kings, more eminent than the rest, answerable to the five provinces into which the island was anciently divided. These, again, were subordinate to one head, called monarch of all Ireland, raised to that power by election, or, more properly speaking, by violence.

Whilst the dignities of the state were disposed of by a sort of election, the office of judges, who were called Brehons, the trades of mechanics, and even those arts which we are apt to consider as depending principally upon natural genius, such as poetry and music, were confined in succession to certain races ; the Irish imagining that greater advantages were to be derived from an early institution, and the affection of parents desiring to perpetuate the secrets of their arts in their families than from the casual efforts of particular fancy and application. This is much in the strain of the Eastern policy ; but these and many other of the Irish institutions, well enough calculated to preserve good arts and useful discipline, when these arts came to degenerate, were equally well calculated to prevent all improvement, and to perpetuate corruption by infusing an invincible tenaciousness of ancient customs.

The people of Ireland were much more addicted to pasturage than agriculture ; not more from the quality of their soil than from a remnant of the Scythian manners. They had but few towns, and those not fortified, each clan living dispersed over its own territory. The few walled towns they had lay on the sea coast ; they were built by the Danes, and held after they had lost their conquests in the inland parts : here was carried on the little foreign trade which the island then possessed.

The Irish militia was of two kinds, one called *kerns*, which were foot, slightly armed with a long knife or

dagger, and almost naked; the other *gallowglasses*, who were horse; poorly mounted, and generally armed only with a battle-axe. Neither horse nor foot made much use of the sword, the spear, or the bow. With indifferent arms they had still worse discipline. In these circumstances their national bravery, which, though considerable, was not superior to that of their invaders, stood them in little stead.

Such was the situation of things in Ireland, when Dermot, king of Leinster, having violently carried away the wife of one of the neighbouring petty sovereigns, Roderic, king of Connaught and monarch of Ireland, joined the injured husband to punish so flagrant an outrage; and with their united forces spoiled Dermot of his territories, and obliged him to leave the kingdom. The fugitive prince, not apprised of Henry's designs upon his country, threw himself at his feet, implored his protection, and promised to hold of him, as his feudatory, the sovereignty he should recover by his assistance. Henry was at this time at Guienne; nothing could be more agreeable to him than such an incident; but as his French dominions actually lay under an interdict, on account of his quarrel with Becket, and all his affairs, at home and abroad, were in a troubled and dubious situation, it was not prudent to remove his person, nor venture any considerable body of his forces on a distant enterprise. Yet not willing to lose so favourable an opportunity, he warmly recommended the cause of Dermot to his regency in England, permitting and encouraging all persons to arm in his favour; a permission in that age of enterprise greedily accepted by many; but the person who brought the most assistance to it, and, indeed, gave a form and spirit to the whole design, was Richard, earl of Striaul, commonly known by the name of Strongbow. Dermot to confirm in his interest this potent and warlike peer, promised him his daughter in marriage with the reversion of his crown.

The beginnings of so great an enterprise were formed with a very slender force. Not four hundred men landed near Wexford; they took the town by storm. When reinforced they did not exceed twelve hundred; but being joined with three thousand men by Dermot, with an

incredible rapidity of success they reduced Waterford, Dublin, and Limerick, the only considerable cities in Ireland. By the novelty of their arms they had obtained some striking advantages in their first engagements, and by these advantages they attained a superiority of opinion over the Irish, which every success increased. Before the effect of this first impression had time to wear off, Henry, having settled his affairs abroad, entered the harbour of Cork, with a fleet of four hundred sail, at once to secure the conquest and the allegiance of the conquerors.

The fame of so great a force arriving under a prince dreaded by all Europe very soon disposed all the petty princes, with their king, Roderic, to submit and do homage to Henry. They had not been able to resist the arms of his vassals, and they hoped better treatment from submitting to the ambition of a great king, who left them everything but the honour of their independence, than from the avarice of adventurers, from which nothing was secure. The bishops and the body of the clergy greatly contributed to this submission from respect to the Pope and the horror of their late defeats, which they began to regard as judgments. A national council was held at Cashel for bringing the church of Ireland in perfect conformity, in rites and discipline, to that of England. It is not to be thought that in this council the temporal interests of England were entirely forgotten. Many of the English were established in their particular conquests under the tenure of knight's service, now first introduced into Ireland, a tenure which, if it has not proved the best calculated to secure the obedience of the vassal to the sovereign, has never failed in any instance of preserving a vanquished people in obedience to the conquerors. The English lords built strong castles on their demesnes, they put themselves at the head of the tribes whose chiefs they had slain, they assumed the Irish garb and manners, and thus, partly by force, partly by policy, the first English families took a firm root in Ireland. It was, indeed, long before they were able entirely to subdue the island to the laws of England; but the continual efforts of the Irish for more than 400 years proved insufficient to dislodge them.

## II.—RICHARD I. (CŒUR DE LION), 1189—1199.

## HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Richard I., the third son of Henry II., was born at Oxford, in 1157, and crowned at Westminster, September 3, 1189. He died at the Castle of Chaluz, in Normandy, April 6, 1199, in the 42nd of year of his age, and the 10th of his reign, and was buried at Fontevrault. He married Berengaria of Navarre.

2. On his accession Richard ordered the release of his mother Eleanor, who had been imprisoned by his father, and appointed her regent. He himself returned to England shortly after, to quit it, after a stay of a few months, on an expedition to the Holy Land (1190).

3. Philip II. of France accompanied Richard to the east. They besieged Acre, but the French troops were soon withdrawn, in consequence of a quarrel between the French and English kings. Acre was taken by Richard, who marched immediately on Jerusalem. On his way thither he defeated Saladin in a great battle at Azotus, and then reached Jaffa, which he fortified.

4. He was compelled, when within a few miles of Jerusalem, through disease and a lack of supplies, to retreat to Ascalon. There he received news of the rebellion of his brother John in England, and making peace with Saladin, he resolved to return to his dominions (1192).

5. At Ascalon Richard had quarrelled with the Archduke of Austria, who took him prisoner while returning homewards in disguise through the Austrian dominions, and kept him closely imprisoned until ransomed by the English, in 1194. The place of his seclusion is said to have been discovered by his favourite minstrel, Blondel, who wandered through Austria, from castle to castle, in search of him.

6. On his return Richard pardoned his brother John, who had endeavoured to make himself master of the kingdom in his absence. Richard soon quitted England to invade France. He defeated Philip in a battle near Gisors, and shortly after died of a wound from an arrow, received while besieging the castle of Chaluz (1199).

7. Richard I. was brave to a fault. His fondness for war kept him away from his kingdom during almost the whole of his reign. At this period the people first began to struggle against taxation, under the advice and guidance of William Fitz-Osborne, whom they termed the saviour of the poor. The famous outlaw Robin Hood lived in this reign.

## KING RICHARD'S CAPTIVITY IN GERMANY.

[*Abridged from a "History of the Norman Conquest in England." By Jacques Nicolas Augustin Thierry. See page 59.*]

When Richard arrived off Sicily, on his return from the Holy Land, he suddenly bethought himself that it would be dangerous for him to land at any of the ports of southern France, because the greater number of the lords of Provence were related to the marquis of Montferrat, whose death he was accused of having caused ; so, instead of crossing the Mediterranean he entered the Adriatic Gulf, after having dismissed the greater part of his suite so that he should not be recognised. His vessel was attacked by pirates, with whom, after a lively engagement, he contrived to make so close a friendship that he left his own ship for one of theirs, which carried him to Yara, on the coast of Slavonia. He went ashore with a Norman baron called Baldwin de Bethune, master Philip, and master Anselm, his chaplains, some templars, and some servants. It was necessary to have a safe conduct from the lord of the province, who unfortunately happened to be one of the numerous relations of the marquis de Montferrat. The king sent one of his men to make this request, and commissioned him to offer to the ruler a ring set with a large ruby, which he had bought in Palestine of some Pisan merchants. This ruby, at that time famous, was recognised by the ruler of Yara : " Who are they who have sent thee to ask a free passage of me ?" inquired he of the messenger. " Some pilgrims returning from Jerusalem." " And their names ?" " One is called Baldwin de Bethune, and the other, who offers you this ring, Hugh the Merchant." The ruler, examining the ring attentively, did not speak for some time, and then suddenly replied, " Thou dost not speak the truth : his name is not Hugh, it is King Richard. But since he wished to honour me with his gifts without being acquainted with me I will not arrest him ; I return him his present and leave him free to depart."

Surprised at this incident, which he was far from expecting, Richard immediately set out, and no one attempted to stop him. He pursued his flight through the



German territory, having for his companions only William de l'Etang (his intimate friend), and a valet who could speak the Teutonic language. They travelled three days and three nights without food, almost without knowing where they were, and at last entered Ost-reich, or Austria, a dependency of the German empire, governed by a lord who bore the title of *herzog* or duke. Unfortunately this duke, named Leopold, was the same whom Richard had mortally offended in Palestine by tearing down his banner. His residence was at Vienna on the Danube, where the king and his two companions arrived, worn out with fatigue and hunger.

The servant who spoke Teutonic went to the town exchange to get the money of the country for their gold byzantines. The citizens being suspicious of him took him before their magistrate to discover who he was. He gave himself out for the valet of a rich merchant who was to arrive in three days, and on this reply he was liberated. When he returned to the king's lodgings he recounted his adventure to him, and advised him to leave the town as soon as possible ; but Richard, wishing for some repose, stayed some days longer. During this interval the report of his landing at Yara was spread through Austria ; and Duke Leopold, who wished at once to wreak his vengeance on the king and enrich himself by the ransom of such a prisoner, sent spies and men-at-arms in search of him in all directions. They traversed the country without finding any traces of him ; but one day the same servant who had been before arrested, being in the market of the town purchasing provisions, some richly embroidered gloves, such as the great lords of that time wore with their court dresses, were observed in his girdle. He was again arrested, and to force confessions from him he was put to the torture. He revealed all, and pointed out the inn where Richard was. It was surrounded by the duke of Austria's soldiers, who, taking Richard by surprise, forced him to surrender, and the duke, with great marks of respect, had him confined in prison, where picked soldiers with drawn swords guarded him day and night.

No sooner was the report of the king of England's

arrest spread than the emperor of all Germany summoned his vassal, the duke of Austria, to surrender his prisoner to him, under the pretext that none but an emperor had a right to imprison a king. The king of England was then transferred from Vienna to Worms, into one of the imperial fortresses; and the emperor, in great glee, sent a message to the king of France, which was more agreeable to him, says a historian of the time, than a present of gold or topaz. Philip immediately wrote to the emperor to congratulate him cordially on his prize, and to intreat him to guard it carefully, because, he said, the world would never be at peace if such a disturber succeeded in escaping. Therefore he proposed to pay a sum equal, or even superior, to the king of England's ransom, if the emperor would give him into his custody.

The emperor, according to custom, submitted this proposal to an assembly of the lords and bishops of the country, called in the Teutonic language a *diet*. He made known to the diet the motives of the king of France's request, and justified Richard's imprisonment on the plea of the pretended crime of murder committed by him upon the marquis de Montferrat, the insult offered to the duke of Austria's banner, and the three years' truce concluded with the enemies of the faith. For these misdeeds the king of England ought, he said, to be declared a capital enemy of the empire. The assembly decided that Richard should be judged by it for the crimes imputed to him, but refused to surrender him to the king of France. The latter did not wait for judgment to be given against the prisoner, but sent a message to him that he renounced him as his vassal, and declared war to the utmost against him. He promised to insure to John the possession of Normandy, of Anjou, and of Aquitaine, and to aid him in obtaining the kingdom of England. Without, at that time, concluding a positive alliance with King Philip, John commenced intrigues in all the countries which were in subjection to his brother; and under the pretext that Richard was dead, or at least must be considered so, he exacted the oath of fidelity from the public officers and the governors of the fortresses and towns.

The king of England was informed of these manœuvres. The day fixed on for his trial arrived ; he appeared as an accused man before the Germanic diet at Worms. All he had to do to obtain an acquittal on all points was to promise as his ransom one hundred thousand pounds of silver, and to avow himself a vassal of the emperor. After this ceremony the German emperor, bishops, and lords, promised, by oath on their soul, that the king of England should be free on the payment of the hundred thousand pounds, and from that day the captivity of Richard was less strict.

John now concluded a formal treaty with King Philip. He acknowledged himself that king's vassal and liegeman for England and all the other states of his brother ; and finally he subscribed to the same clause against Richard which Richard had more than once subscribed to against his father, Henry II. : " And if my brother Richard shall offer me peace, I will not accept it without the consent of my ally of France, even if my ally should have made peace on his own account with my said brother Richard."

King Richard's adversaries had but little success in England, which had, however, to submit to enormous tributes levied for the king's ransom. The royal collectors traversed the country in every direction, and drew contributions from all classes of men, clergy and laity, Saxons and Normans. All the sums levied in various assessments were collected together in London ; and it has been calculated that the total would have covered the amount of the ransom, had there not been an enormous deficiency caused by the frauds of the men employed. This first levy being insufficient, the royal officers commenced a fresh one, making use, say the historians, of the plausible terms of the king's ransom to cover their shameful robberies.

The king had now been two years in prison. He was weary of captivity, and sent message after message to his officers and his friends in England and on the continent, urging them to free him by paying his ransom. He complained bitterly that he was neglected by his people, and that they would not do for him what he would have done for any other.

Whilst the second collection for the king's ransom was being made throughout England, envoys from the emperor arrived in London, to receive as on account of the sum total the money that had been already collected. The money came safe to the hands of the Cæsar of Germany, who sent a third of it to the duke of Austria as his share of the prize. Then another diet was assembled to decide on the fate of the prisoner, whose liberation was fixed for the third week after Christmas, on condition that he should leave a certain number of hostages as a guarantee for the payment which still remained to be made.

When the king of France and his ally, Earl John, learnt what had been resolved by the imperial diet, they feared they might not have time to execute their designs before the king's liberation; they, therefore, sent messages in great haste to the emperor, offering him seventy thousand marks of silver if he would prolong the imprisonment of Richard for one year, or, if he preferred it, a thousand pounds of silver for each succeeding month of captivity; or a hundred and fifty thousand marks if he would give the prisoner into the custody of the king of France and the earl. The emperor, tempted by these dazzling offers, was inclined to break his word; but the members of the diet, who had sworn to keep the engagement, opposed any want of faith, and using all their power had the captive released towards the end of January, 1194. Richard could not direct his steps either towards France or Normandy, which was then invaded by the French; the safest way was for him to embark in one of the German ports, and sail straight to England. But it was then the most stormy season; he was obliged to wait more than a month at Antwerp, and during that time the emperor's avarice was again tempted. The hope of doubling his profits overcame the fear of displeasing priests less powerful than himself, and whom, in his character of paramount lord, he had a thousand means of silencing. He therefore resolved to seize a second time the prisoner whom he had allowed to depart; but the secret of this treachery was not sufficiently well kept, and one of the hostages left in the emperor's hands found means to warn the king. Richard immediately embarked in the

galley of a Norman trader, named Alain Tranchemer; and having thus escaped the men-at-arms sent to take him, landed safely at the port of Sandwich.

#### BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The emperor of Germany, who kept King Richard in durance for so long a time, and whose avarice prompted him to actions utterly contrary to all the rules and usages of chivalry, was Henry VI., surnamed Asper, or the Sharp. He was the son of Frederick I., surnamed Barbarossa or Redbeard, and reigned from 1190 to 1198.

### III.—JOHN (SANSTERRE OR LACKLAND), 1199—1216.

#### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. John, the fourth son of Henry II., was born at Oxford, December 24, 1166, and was crowned at Westminster, May 27, 1199. He died at Newark, October 18, 1216, in the fiftieth year of his age and the eighteenth of his reign. He was buried at Worcester.

2. His first wife was Isabel of Gloucester; at her decease he married Isabel of Angoulême, by whom he had two sons and three daughters.

3. The rightful heir to the crown was Arthur of Brittany, the son of Geoffrey. Philip II. of France supported his right to John's continental dominions at first, but afterwards made peace with John. After a short but fruitless struggle to maintain his rights, Arthur was taken prisoner in 1202, and is said to have been murdered by John. The king of France took possession of John's continental dominions after Arthur's death.

4. A quarrel with the pope next occupied John's attention. In consequence of his denying the pope's supremacy in England in matters spiritual England was placed under an interdict, and John was excommunicated (1209). The pope even went so far as to offer the English crown to Philip of France, and John, alarmed at the turn affairs were taking, submitted to the pope, and paid tribute for the possession of his kingdom.

5. The barons, headed by Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, demanded the confirmation of the Charter granted by Henry I., from John (1214), and the king, agreeing with reluctance to grant their demands, signed Magna Charta at Runnymede, near Windsor (1215).

6. John, enraged with the barons for wresting these concessions from him, procured sentence of excommunication against them from the pope. The barons called in French troops to their assistance, and a large body of French landed in 1216, headed by Louis, son of Philip II. of France.

7. John retreated before the forces of Louis and the confederate barons; and losing army and baggage in crossing the Wash, took refuge in Swineshead Abbey. From this place he went on the following day to Newark Castle, where he died of fever, brought on by fatigue.

8. John was as cowardly as his brother Richard was brave. He was cruel, treacherous, and vindictive, harassed his people with taxes, and perpetrated barbarous cruelties on the Jews to extort money from them.

### THE GREAT CHARTER OF LIBERTIES.

[*Abridged from the account of the provisions of the Magna Charta, by the historian Henry Hallam, who was born in 1778, and died January 22, 1859. His principal works, which are voluminous, are a "View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages," "The Constitutional History of England, from the Accession of Henry VII. to the Death of George II.," and an "Introduction to the Literature of Europe in the Fifteenth, Sixteenth, and Seventeenth Centuries."*]

In the reign of John all the rapacious exactions usual to the Norman kings were not only redoubled but mingled with other outrages of tyranny still more intolerable. These, too, were to be endured at the hands of a prince utterly contemptible for his folly and cowardice. One is surprised at the forbearance displayed by the barons, till they took up arms at length in that confederacy which ended in establishing the Great Charter of Liberties. As this was the first effort towards a legal government, so it is beyond comparison the most important event in our history, except that revolution (namely, that of 1688), without which its benefits would rapidly have been annihilated. The constitution of England has, indeed, no single date from which its duration is to be reckoned. The institutions of positive law, the far more important changes which time has wrought in the order of society during six hundred years subsequent to the Great Charter, have undoubtedly

lessened its direct application to our present circumstances. But it is still the keystone of English liberty. All that has since been obtained is little more than as confirmation or commentary ; and if every subsequent law were to be swept away, there would still remain the bold features that distinguish a free from a despotic monarchy.

It has lately been the fashion to depreciate the value of Magna Charta as if it had sprung from the private ambition of a few selfish barons, and redressed only some feudal abuses. It is, indeed, of little importance by what motives those who obtained it were guided. The real characters of men most distinguished in the transactions of the time are not easily determined. Yet, if we bring these ungrateful suspicions to the test, they prove destitute of all reasonable foundation. An equal distribution of civil rights to all classes of freemen forms the peculiar beauty of the Charter. In this just solicitude for the people, and in the moderation which infringed upon no essential prerogative of the monarchy, we may perceive a liberality and a patriotism very unlike the selfishness which is sometimes rashly imputed to those ancient barons. And, as far as we are guided by historical testimony, two great men, the pillars of our Church and State, may be considered as entitled beyond all the rest to the glory of this monument—Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, and William, earl of Pembroke. To their temperate zeal for a legal government, England was indebted during that critical period for the two greatest blessings that patriotic statesmen could confer ; the establishment of civil liberty upon an immovable basis, and the preservation of national independence under the ancient line of sovereigns which rash men were about to exchange for the dominion of France.

By the Magna Charta of John reliefs were limited to a certain sum according to the rank of the tenant, the waste committed by guardians in chivalry restrained, the disparagement in matrimony of female wards forbidden, and widows secured from compulsory marriage. These regulations extending to the sub-vassals of the crown, redressed the worst grievances of every military tenant in England. The franchises of the city of London and of all towns and

boroughs were declared inviolable. The freedom of commerce was granted to alien merchants. The Court of Common Pleas, instead of following the king's person, was fixed at Westminster. The tyranny exercised in the neighbourhood of royal forests met with some check, which was further enforced by the charter of forests under Henry III.

But the essential clauses of Magna Charta are those which protect the personal liberty and property of all freemen, by giving security from arbitrary imprisonment and arbitrary spoliation. "No freeman," says the twenty-ninth chapter of Henry III.'s charter, which, as the existing law, I quote in preference to that of John, the variations not being very material, "shall be taken, or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold, or liberties, or free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or any otherwise destroyed; nor will we pass upon him, nor send upon him, but by lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land. We will sell to no man, we will not deny, or delay to any man judgment or right." It is obvious that these words, interpreted by any honest court of law, convey an ample security for the two main rights of civil society. From the era, therefore, of King John's charter, it must have been a clear principle of our constitution that no man can be detained in prison without a trial. Whether courts of justice framed the writ of *habeas corpus* in conformity to the spirit of this clause, or found it already in their register, it became from that era the right of every subject to demand it. That writ, rendered more actively remedial by the statute of Charles II., but founded upon the broad basis of Magna Charta, is the principal bulwark of English liberty; and if ever temporary circumstances, or the doubtful plea of political necessity, shall lead men to look upon its denial with apathy, the most distinguishing characteristic of our constitution will be effaced.

As the clause recited above protects the subject from any absolute spoliation of his freehold rights, so others restrain the excessive amercements which had an almost equally ruinous operation. The magnitude of his offence, by the fourteenth clause of Henry III.'s charter, must be



the measure of his fine; and in every case the contenment (a word expressive of the chattels necessary to each man's station as the arms of a gentleman, the merchandise of a trader, the plough and wagons of a peasant) was exempted from seizure. A provision was made in the charter of John that no aid or escuage should be imposed, except in the three feudal cases of aid, without consent of Parliament: and this was extended to aids paid by the city of London. But the clause was omitted in the three charters granted by Henry III., though Parliament seems to have acted upon it in most part of his reign. It had, however, no reference to tollages imposed upon towns without their consent. Fourscore years were yet to elapse before the great principle of parliamentary taxation was explicitly and absolutely recognised.

A law which enacts that justice shall be neither sold, denied, nor delayed, stamps with infamy that government under which it had become necessary. But from the time of the charter, according to Madox, the disgraceful perversions of right, which are on record in the rolls of the exchequer, became less frequent.

From this era a new soul was infused into the people of England. Her liberties, at the best long in abeyance, became a tangible possession, and those indefinite aspirations for the laws of Edward the Confessor, were changed into a steady regard for the Great Charter. Pass but from the history of Roger de Hoveden to that of Matthew Paris, from the Second Henry to the Third, and judge whether the victorious struggle had not excited an energy of public spirit to which the nation was before a stranger. The strong man, in the sublime language of Milton, was aroused from sleep, and shook his invincible locks. Tyranny, indeed, and injustice will, by all historians not absolutely servile, be noted with moral reprobation; but never shall we find in the English writers of the twelfth century that assertion of positive and national rights which distinguish those of the next age, and especially the monk of St. Albans. From his prolix history we may collect three material propositions as to the state of the English constitution during the long reign of Henry III.—a prince to

whom the epithet of worthless, appears best applicable ; and who, without committing any flagrant crimes, was at once insincere, ill-judging, and pusillanimous. The intervention of such a reign was a very fortunate circumstance for public liberty, which might possibly have been crushed in its infancy if an Edward had succeeded immediately to the throne of John.

1. The Great Charter was always considered as a fundamental law ; but yet it was supposed to acquire additional security by frequent confirmation. This it received with some not inconsiderable variation in the first, second, and ninth years of Henry's reign.

The last of these is our present statute book, and has never received any alterations ; but Sir Edward Coke reckons thirty-two instances in which it has been solemnly ratified. Several of these were during the reign of Henry III., and were invariably purchased by the grant of a subsidy. This prudent accommodation of Parliament to the circumstances of their age, not only made the law itself appear more inviolable, but established that correspondence between supply and redress, which for some centuries was the balance spring of our constitution.

2. Though the prohibition of aids or escuages, without consent of Parliament, had been omitted in all Henry's charters, an omission for which we cannot assign any other motive than the disposition of his ministers to get rid of that restriction, yet neither one nor the other seem in fact to have been exacted at discretion throughout his reign. On the contrary, the barons frequently refused the aids or rather subsidies which his prodigality was always demanding. We may take it for granted, therefore, that the clause in John's charter, though not expressly renewed, was still considered binding.

3. The power of granting money must, of course, imply the power of withholding it ; yet this has sometimes been little more than a nominal privilege. But in this reign (Henry III.) the English Parliament exercised their right of refusal, or, what was much better, of conditional assent. Great discontent was expressed at the demand of a subsidy in 1237 ; and the king alleging that he had expended a

great deal of money on his sister's marriage with the emperor, and also on his own, the barons answered that he had not taken their advice in those matters, nor ought they to share the punishment of acts of imprudence they had not committed. At last, after granting several demands, the barons positively refused any money, and he extorted 1,500 marks from the city of London. Some years afterwards they declared their readiness to burden themselves more than ever if they could secure the observance of the charter, and requested that the justiciary, chancellor, and treasurer, might be appointed with consent of Parliament, according, as they asserted, to ancient customs, and might hold their offices during good behaviour.

#### IV.—HENRY III. (OF WINCHESTER), 1216—1272.

##### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Henry III., the eldest son of John, was born at Winchester, October 1, 1207, and crowned at Gloucester, October 28, 1216. He died at St. Edmundsbury, November 16, 1272, in the sixty-sixth year of his age and the fifty-seventh of his reign. He was buried in Westminster Abbey. Henry married Eleanor of Provence, by whom he had six sons and three daughters.

2. On Henry's accession, the guardianship of the kingdom was entrusted to the earl of Pembroke. Concessions were made to the barons and people; and in 1217, the French evacuated England, after being defeated at Lincoln in a battle known as the "Fair of Lincoln."

3. In 1225, a Parliament was held at Westminster, which granted Henry supplies on the ratification of the charters of Henry I. and John. The king, being weak and vacillating, was unable to control the barons or the clergy; and, being under the influence of favourites, his administration excited discontent throughout the country.

4. So passed Henry's reign, tarnished by a series of promises and oaths made only to be broken, until 1258, when the "Mad Parliament" met at Oxford, and, under Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, who had married Eleanor, the king's sister, and widow of the wise earl of Pembroke (1238), proceeded to reform the abuses in the government.

5. This eventually led to a civil war between Henry and the

barons; and, in 1264, the king and his two sons were taken prisoners by the earl of Leicester after the battle of Lewes.

6. In the following year the first representative Parliament was held; but dissensions had arisen among the confederate barons, and Prince Edward, escaping from his confinement, raised troops and defeated Simon de Montfort in the battle of Evesham, and soon afterwards re-established his father's authority.

7. In 1270, Prince Edward sailed for the Holy Land on the last crusade undertaken against the Moslems, and two years after the long reign of Henry of Winchester was terminated by his death. Henry III. was a king of weak and feeble character, and possessed no capability whatever to govern the country that it had fallen to his lot to rule.

#### REPRESENTATION OF COUNTIES AND BOROUGHES IN PARLIAMENT.

[*By Henry Hallam. See page 102.*]

The progress of towns in several continental countries from a condition bordering on servitude to wealth and liberty, has more than once attracted our attention. Their growth in England, from general causes and imitative policy, was very similar, and nearly coincident. Under the Anglo-Saxon line of sovereigns we scarcely can discover in our scanty records the condition of their inhabitants, except retrospectively from the great survey of Domesday Book, which displays the state of England under Edward the Confessor. Some attention had been paid to trade and commerce by Alfred and Athelstan, and a merchant who had made three voyages beyond sea was raised by the law of the latter monarch to the dignity of a thane. This privilege was not, perhaps, often claimed; but the burgesses, or inhabitants of towns, were already a distinct class from the ceorls or rustics; and, though hardly free according to our estimation, seem to have laid the foundation of more extensive immunities.

It is probable, at least, that the English towns had made full as great advances towards emancipation as those of France. At the Conquest we find the burgesses, or inhabi-

tants of towns, living under the superiority or protection of the king, or of some other lord, to whom they paid annual rents, and determinate dues and customs. Sometimes they belonged to different lords, and sometimes the same burgess paid customs to one master while he was under the jurisdiction of another. They frequently enjoyed special privileges as to inheritance ; and in two or three instances they seem to have possessed common property belonging to a sort of guild, or corporation ; but never, as far as appears by any evidence, had they a municipal administration by magistrates of their own choice. Besides the regular payments, which were in general not heavy, they were liable to tollages at the discretion of their lords. This burden continued for two centuries with no limitations, except that the barons were latterly forced to ask permission of the king before they set a tollage on their own tenants, which was commonly done when he imposed one on his own. Still the towns became considerably richer, for the profits of their traffic were undiminished by competition ; and the consciousness that they could not be individually despoiled of their possessions, like the villeins of the country round, inspired an industry and perseverance which all the rapacity of Norman kings and barons was unable to daunt or overcome.

One of the earliest and most important changes in the condition of the burgesses was the conversion of their individual tributes into a perpetual rent from the whole borough. The town was then said to be affirmed, or let in fee-farm, to the burgesses and their successors for ever. Previously to such a grant the lord held the town in his demesne, and was the legal proprietor of the soil and tenements, though I by no means apprehend that the burgesses were destitute of a certain estate in their possessions. But of a town in fee-farm he only kept the superiority, and the inheritance of the annual rent, which he might recover by distress. The burgesses held their lands by burgage-tenure, nearly analogous to, or rather a species of, free socage. Perhaps before the grant they might correspond to modern copyholders. It is of some importance to observe that the lord, by such a grant of the

town in fee-farm, whatever we may think of its previous condition, divested himself of his property, or lucrative dominion over the soil, in return for the perpetual rent ; so that tollages subsequently set at his own discretion upon the inhabitants, however common, can hardly be considered as a just exercise of the rights of proprietorship.

Under such a system of arbitrary taxation, however, it was evident to the most selfish tyrant that the wealth of the burgesses was his wealth, and their prosperity his interest : much more were liberal and sagacious monarchs, like Henry II., inclined to encourage them by privileges. From the time of William Rufus there was no reign in which charters were not granted to different towns, of exemption from tolls on rivers and at markets — those lighter manacles of feudal tyranny — or of commercial franchises, or of immunity from the ordinary jurisdictions, or, lastly, of internal self-regulation. Thus the original charter of Henry I. to the city of London concedes to the citizens, in addition to various valuable commercial and fiscal immunities, the right of choosing their own sheriff and justice, to the exclusion of every foreign jurisdiction. These grants, however, were not in general so extensive till the reign of John. Before that time the interior arrangement of towns had received a new organisation. In the Saxon period we find voluntary associations — sometimes religious, sometimes secular ; in some cases for mutual defence against injury, in others for mutual relief in poverty. These were called guilds, from the Saxon term *gildan*, to pay or contribute, and exhibited the natural, if not the legal, character of corporations. At the time of the Conquest, as has been mentioned above, such voluntary incorporations of the burgesses possessed in some towns either landed property of their own, or rights of superiority over those of others. An internal elective government seems to have been required for the administration of a common revenue, and of other business incident to their association. They become more numerous and more peculiarly commercial after that era, as well from the increase of trade as through imitation of similar fraternities existing in many towns of France. The spirit of monopoly

gave strength to those institutions, each class of traders forming itself into a body, in order to exclude competition. Thus were established the companies in corporate towns, that of the weavers in London being, perhaps, the earliest ; and these were successively consolidated and sanctioned by charters from the crown. In towns not large enough to admit of distinct companies, one merchant guild comprehended the traders in general, or the chief of them ; and this, from the reign of Henry II. downwards, became the subject of incorporating charters. The management of their internal concerns previously to any incorporation fell naturally enough into a sort of oligarchy, which the tenor of the charter generally preserved. Though the immunities might be very extensive, the powers were more or less restrained to a small number. Except in a few places, the right of choosing magistrates was first given by King John, and certainly must rather be ascribed to his poverty than to any enlarged policy, of which he was utterly incapable.

From the middle of the twelfth century to that of the thirteenth, the traders of England became more and more prosperous. The towns on the southern coast exported tin and other metals in exchange for the wines of France ; those on the eastern sent corn to Norway ; the Cinque Ports bartered wool against the stuffs of Flanders. Though bearing no comparison with the cities of Italy or the German empire, they increased sufficiently to acquire importance at home. That vigorous prerogative of the Norman monarchs which kept down the feudal aristocracy compensated for whatever inferiority there might be in the population and defensible strength of the English towns compared with those on the continent. They had to fear no petty oppressors, no local hostility, and if they could satisfy the rapacity of the crown, were secure from all other grievances.

London, far above the rest, our ancient and noble capital, might even in those early times be termed a member of the political system. This great city so rich and admirably situated, was rich and populous long before the Conquest. Bede, at the beginning of the eighth century, speaks of

London as a great market which traders frequented by land and by sea. It paid fifteen thousand pounds out of eighty-two thousand pounds raised by Canute upon the kingdom. If we believe Roger de Hoveden, the citizens of London on the death of Ethelred II. joined with part of the nobility in raising Edmund Ironside to the throne. Harold I., according to better authority, the Saxon Chronicle, and William of Malmesbury, was elected by their concurrence. Descending to later history we find them active in the civil war of Stephen and Matilda. The famous bishop of Winchester tells the Londoners that they are almost accounted as noblemen on account of the greatness of their city, into the community of which it appears that some barons had been received. Indeed the citizens themselves, or at least the principal of them, were called barons. It was certainly by far the greatest city in England. There have been different estimates of its population, some of which are extravagant; but I think that it could hardly have contained less than thirty or forty thousand souls within its walls; and the suburbs were very populous. These numbers, the enjoyment of privileges, and the consciousness of strength, infused a free and even mutinous spirit into their conduct. The Londoners were always on the barons' side in their contests with the crown. They bore a part in deposing William Longchamp, the chancellor and justiciary of Richard I. They were distinguished in the great struggle for Magna Charta; the privileges of their city are expressly confirmed in it; and the mayor of London was one of the twenty-five barons to whom the maintenance of its provisions was delegated. In the subsequent reign, the citizens of London were regarded with much dislike and jealousy by the court, and sometimes suffered pretty severely by its hands, especially after the battle of Evesham.

Notwithstanding the influence of London in these seasons of disturbance, we do not perceive that it was distinguished from the most insignificant town by greater participation in national councils. Rich, powerful, honourable, and high spirited as its citizens had become, it was very long before they found a regular place in Parliament.



The prerogative of imposing tollages at pleasure, unsparingly exercised by Henry III., even over London, left the crown no inducement to summon the inhabitants of cities and boroughs. As these, indeed, were daily growing more considerable, they were certain in a monarchy, so limited as that of England became in the thirteenth century, of attaining, sooner or later, this eminent privilege. Although, therefore, the object of Simon de Montfort in calling them to Parliament after the battle of Lewes was merely to strengthen his own faction which prevailed among the commonalty, yet their permanent admission into the legislature may be ascribed to a more general cause. For otherwise it is not easy to see how the innovation of a usurper should be drawn into a precedent, though it might perhaps accelerate what the course of affairs was gradually preparing.

It is well known that the earliest writs of summons to cities and boroughs of which we can prove the existence, are those of Simon de Montfort, earl of Leicester, bearing date 12th of December, 1264, in the forty-ninth year of Henry III. After a long controversy, almost all judicious inquirers seem to have acquiesced in admitting this origin of popular representation. The argument may be very concisely stated. We find from innumerable records that the king imposed tollages upon his demesne towns at discretion. No public instrument previous to the forty-ninth of Henry III. names the citizens and burgesses as constituent parts of Parliament, though prelates, barons, knights, and sometimes freeholders are enumerated; while since the undoubted admission of the Commons they are invariably mentioned. No historian speaks of representatives appearing for the people, or uses the word citizen or burgess in describing those present in Parliament. Such convincing, though negative, evidence is not to be invalidated by some general and ambiguous phrases, whether in writs and records or in historians. Those monkish annalists are but poor authorities upon any point where their language is to be delicately measured. But it is hardly possible that writing circumstantially, as Roger de Hoveden and Matthew Paris sometimes did, concerning proceedings

in Parliament, they could have failed to mention the Commons in unequivocal expressions, if any representatives from that order had actually formed a part of the assembly.

V.—EDWARD I. (LONGSHANKS), 1272—1307.

HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Edward I., eldest son of Henry III., was born at Westminster, June 16, 1239, and crowned at Westminster, August 19, 1274. He died at Burgh-on-the-Sands, near Carlisle, July 7, 1307, in the sixty-seventh year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his reign. He was buried at Westminster.

2. He married, firstly, Eleanor of Castile, by whom he had four sons and nine daughters; and secondly, Margaret of France, who bore him two sons and one daughter.

3. Edward was in the Holy Land when his father died. He returned forthwith (1274). Troubles arose on the Welsh borders, and Edward invaded Wales (1277).

4. After the death of Llewellyn, Edward proposed to set a native prince over the Welsh who could not speak English. The Welsh accepted his proposal with joy, but were disappointed to find that the native prince was Edward's infant son, who had been recently born in Caernarvon Castle, and whom he created Prince of Wales (1284).

5. On the death of Alexander III. of Scotland (1286), Robert Bruce, John Baliol, and John Hastings, descendants of David, earl of Huntingdon, the younger brother of William the Lion, lay claim to the crown, and agree to submit their claims to the decision of Edward.

6. The English king, at a meeting of the Scottish barons at Norham, awarded the crown to Baliol (1292), who does homage to Edward for his kingdom. Shortly after this period Edward was involved in a war with France, and made preparations for an invasion of that kingdom.

7. Baliol, roused at length by Edward's stern policy towards Scotland, resisted his measures. Cumberland was laid waste by the Scots (1296), and a rebellion broke out in Wales. The war in France was conducted by Edmund, the king's brother, and the earl of Lincoln, while Edward himself punished the Welsh and marched against the Scottish troops.

8. Berwick was carried by assault, and the inhabitants and garrison put to the sword. This was speedily followed by the

battle of Dunbar and the deposition of Baliol. In 1297, Sir William Wallace raised the standard of revolt against Edward, and destroyed the English garrisons in Scotland; but he was defeated two years after in the battle of Falkirk, and Edward laid waste Scotland, which country was soon after claimed by the pope (1300).

9. During this time Edward had also been carrying on wars in France and Guienne, but a settlement of the matters in dispute was effected in 1303. Another revolt had broken out in Scotland a short time before, and the English army in Scotland been totally defeated.

10. Edward took a terrible revenge, and swept through Scotland with fire and sword. Wallace fell into his hands, and was brought to London and there executed (1305).

11. Robert Bruce, eager to avenge the wrongs of his country and the death of Wallace, was crowned king of Scotland at Scone (1306). He was defeated in the battle of Methven, and took refuge in Ireland; but returning to Scotland in the following year he defeated the English in the battle of Loudon Hill (1307).

12. Edward was marching northward with a large army, intending to subjugate Scotland completely; but he died on the way at Burgh-on-the-Sands, near Carlisle, after binding his son by an oath to follow up the conquest of that country.

13. Edward was a brave and able prince, prudent and persevering in the accomplishment of his undertakings, acting generally for the interests of his kingdom. He was just towards his people, but vindictive against his enemies, and uniformly cruel to the Jews, from whom he extorted money, and then banished them from England.

## THE LIFE AND DEATH OF WILLIAM WALLACE.

### PART I.—HIS REVOLT AND EARLY VICTORIES.

[Abridged from the "*Tales of a Grandfather*," a History of Scotland, by the eminent poet, novelist, historian and miscellaneous writer, Sir Walter Scott, who was born in Edinburgh, August 15, 1771, and died at his country seat, Abbotsford, September 21, 1832.]

William Wallace was not one of the high nobles of Scotland, but the son of a private gentleman, called Wallace of Ellerslie, in Renfrewshire, near Paisley. He was very tall and handsome, and one of the bravest men that ever lived.

He had a very fine countenance, with a quantity of fair hair, and was particularly dexterous in the use of all weapons which were then employed in battle. Wallace, like all Scotsmen of high spirit, had looked with great indignation upon the usurpation of the crown by Edward, and upon the insolences which the English soldiers committed upon his countrymen.

The action which occasioned his finally rising in arms is believed to have happened in the town of Lanark. Wallace was at this time married to a lady of that place, and resided there with his wife. It chanced, as he walked in the market place, dressed in a green garment with a rich dagger by his side, that an Englishman came up and insulted him on account of his finery, saying a Scotsman had no business to wear so gay a dress or carry so handsome a weapon. It soon came to a quarrel, as on many former occasions, and Wallace having killed the Englishman fled to his own house, which was speedily assaulted by all the English soldiers. While they were endeavouring to force their way in at the front of the house, Wallace escaped by a back door, and got in safety to a rugged and rocky glen near Lanark, called the Cartland Craggs, all covered with bushes and trees, and full of high precipices, where he knew he should be safe from the pursuit of the English soldiers. In the meantime the governor of Lanark, whose name was Hazelrigg, burned Wallace's house and put his wife and servants to death ; and by committing this cruelty increased to the highest pitch, as you may well believe, the hatred which the champion had always borne against the English usurper. Hazelrigg also proclaimed Wallace an outlaw, and offered a reward to anyone who should bring him to the English garrison, alive or dead.

On the other hand, Wallace soon collected a body of men outlawed like himself, or willing to become so rather than endure any longer the oppression of the English. One of his earliest expeditions was directed against Hazelrigg, whom he killed, and thus avenged the death of his wife. He fought skirmishes with the soldiers who were sent against him, and often defeated them, and in time became so well known and so formidable that multitudes began to

resort to his standard, until he was at length at the head of a considerable army, with which he proposed to restore his country to independence.

Thus Wallace's party grew daily stronger and stronger, and many of the Scottish nobles joined with him. Among these were Sir William Douglas, the lord of Douglasdale, and the head of a great family often mentioned in Scottish history. There was also Sir John Grahame, who became Wallace's bosom friend and greatest confidant. Many of these great noblemen, however, deserted the cause of the country on the approach of John de Warenne, earl of Surrey, at the head of a numerous and well-appointed army. They thought that Wallace would be unable to withstand the attack of so many disciplined soldiers, and hastened to submit themselves to the English for fear of losing their estates. Wallace, however, remained undismayed, and at the head of a considerable army. He had taken up his camp upon the northern side of the river Forth, near the town of Stirling. The river was there crossed by a long wooden bridge, about a mile above the spot where the present bridge is situated.

The English general approached the banks of the river on the southern side. He sent two clergymen to offer a pardon to Wallace and his followers, on condition that they should lay down their arms. But such was not the purpose of the high-minded champion of Scotland. "Go back to Warenne," said Wallace, "and tell him we value not the pardon of the king of England. We are not here for the purpose of treating of peace, but of abiding battle, and of restoring freedom to our country. Let the English come on ; we defy them to their very beards."

The English, upon hearing this haughty answer, called loudly to be led to the attack. Their leader, Sir Richard Lundin, a Scottish knight, who had gone over to the enemy at Irvine, hesitated, for he saw that to approach the Scottish army his troops must pass over the long narrow wooden bridge, so that those who should get over first might be attacked by Wallace with all his forces, before those who remained behind could possibly come to their assistance. He, therefore, inclined to delay the battle.

But Cressingham, the treasurer, who was ignorant and presumptuous, insisted that it was their duty to fight, and put an end to the war at once ; and Lundin gave way to his opinion, although Cressingham being a churchman, could not be so good a judge of what was fitting as he himself, an experienced officer.

The English army began to cross the bridge, Cressingham leading the van or foremost division of the army, for in those military days even clergymen wore armour and fought in battle. That took place which Sir Richard Lundin had foreseen. Wallace suffered a considerable part of the English army to pass the bridge without offering any opposition ; but when about one-half were over, and the bridge was crowded with those who were following, he charged those who had crossed with his whole strength, slew a very great number, and drove the rest into the river Forth, where the greater part were drowned. The remainder of the English army who were left on the southern bank of the river, fled in great confusion, having first set fire to the wooden bridge, that the Scots might not pursue them. Cressingham was killed in the very beginning of the battle, and the Scots detested him so much that they flayed the skin from his dead body, and kept pieces of it in memory of the revenge they had taken upon the English treasurer.

The remains of Surrey's great army fled out of Scotland after this defeat ; and the Scots, taking arms on all sides, attacked the castles in which the English soldiers continued to shelter themselves, and took most of them by force or stratagem. Many wonderful stories are told of Wallace's exploits on these occasions. He defeated the English in several combats, chased them almost entirely out of Scotland, and recovered for a time the entire freedom of his country. He even marched into England, and laid Cumberland and Northumberland waste, where the Scottish soldiers, in revenge for the mischief the English had done in their country, committed great cruelties. He remained in England more than three weeks, and did a great deal of mischief to the country.

In the north of Scotland the English had placed a garrison in the strong castle of Dunothan, which, built on

a large and precipitous rock, overhangs the raging sea. Though the place is almost inaccessible, Wallace and his followers found their way into the castle, while the garrison in great terror fled into the church or chapel, which was built on the very verge of the precipice. This did not save them, for Wallace caused the church to be set on fire. The terrified garrison, involved in the flames, ran, some of them, upon the points of the Scottish swords, while others threw themselves from the precipice into the sea, and swam along to the cliffs, where they hung, like sea fowl, screaming in vain for mercy and assistance.

The followers of Wallace were frightened at this dreadful scene, and falling on their knees before the priests who chanced [to be in the army, they asked forgiveness for having committed so much slaughter within the limits of a church dedicated to the service of God. But Wallace had so deep a sense of the injuries which the English had done his country that he only laughed at the contrition of his soldiers. "I will absolve you all myself," said he. "Are you Scottish soldiers? and do you repent for a trifle like this, which is not half what the invaders deserved at our hands?" So deep-seated was Wallace's feeling of national resentment, that it seems to have overcome in such instances the scruples of a temper which was naturally humane.

## PART II.—HIS REVERSES, BETRAYAL, AND DEATH.

Edward I. was in Flanders when all these events took place. You may suppose he was very angry when he heard that Scotland, which he thought completely subdued, had risen into a great insurrection against him, defeated his armies, killed his treasurer, chased his soldiers out of their country, and invaded England with a great force. He came back from Flanders in a mighty rage, and determined not to leave that rebellious country until it was finally conquered, for which purpose he assembled a very fine army, and marched into Scotland.

In the meantime the Scots prepared to defend themselves, and chose Wallace to be governor or protector of

the kingdom, because they had no king at the time. He was now titled Sir William Wallace, Protector or Governor of the Scottish nation. But although Wallace, as we have seen, was the best soldier and bravest man in Scotland, and therefore the most fit to be placed in command at this critical period, when the king of England was coming against them with such great forces, yet the nobles of Scotland envied him this important situation, because he was not a man born in high rank or enjoying a large estate. So great was their jealousy of Sir William Wallace that many of these great barons did not seem very willing to bring forward their forces, or fight against the English, because they would not have a man of inferior condition to be general. This was base and mean conduct, and it was attended with great disasters to Scotland. Yet, notwithstanding this great unwillingness of the nobility to support him, Wallace assembled a large army, for the middling, but especially the lower, classes were very much attached to him. He marched boldly against the king of England, and met him near the town of Falkirk. Most of the Scottish army were on foot, because in those days only the nobility and great men of Scotland fought on horseback. The English king, on the contrary, had a very large body of the finest cavalry in the world, Normans and English, all clothed in complete armour. He had also the celebrated archers of England, each of whom was said to carry twelve Scotsmen's lives under his girdle, because every archer had twelve arrows stuck in his belt, and was expected to kill a man with every arrow.

When the two armies were drawn up facing each other, Wallace said to his soldiers, "I have brought you to the ring; let me see how you can dance." The English made the attack. King Edward, though he saw the close ranks and undaunted appearance of the Scottish infantry, resolved, nevertheless, to try whether he could not ride them down with his fine cavalry. He therefore gave his horsemen orders to advance. They charged accordingly at full gallop. The Scots, however, stood their ground with their long spears; many of the foremost English horses were thrown down, and the riders were killed as they lay rolling, unable



to rise, owing to the weight of their heavy armour. But the Scottish horse did not come to the assistance of their infantry, but, on the contrary, fled away from the battle. It is supposed that this was owing to the treachery or ill-will of the nobility, who were jealous of Wallace. The English cavalry attempted again and again to disperse the deep and solid ranks in which Wallace had stationed his foot soldiers. But they were repeatedly driven off with loss, nor could they make their way through that wood of spears, as it is called by one of the English historians. King Edward then commanded the English archers to advance ; and these, approaching within arrow shot of the Scottish ranks, poured upon them such close and dreadful volleys of arrows that it was impossible to sustain the discharge.

The Scottish spearmen being thus thrown into some degree of confusion by the loss of those who were slain by the arrows of the English, the heavy cavalry of Edward again charged with more success than formerly, and broke through the ranks which were already disordered. Sir John Grahame, Wallace's friend and companion, was slain, with many other brave soldiers, and the Scots, having lost a very great number of men, were at length obliged to take to flight. This fatal battle was fought upon the 22nd of July, 1298.

After the defeat of Falkirk, Sir William Wallace seems to have resigned his office of Governor of Scotland. Several nobles were named guardians in his place, and continued to make resistance to the English armies ; and they gained some advantages, particularly near Roslin, where a body of Scots commanded by John Comyn, of Badenoch, who was one of the guardians of the kingdom, and another distinguished commander called Simon Fraser, defeated three armies or detachments of English in one day.

Nevertheless, the king of England possessed so much wealth, and so many means of raising soldiers, that he sent army after army into the poor oppressed country of Scotland, and obliged all its nobles and great men, one after another, to submit themselves once more to his yoke. Sir William Wallace alone, or with a very small band of

followers, refused either to acknowledge the usurper Edward, or to lay down his arms. He continued to maintain himself among the woods and mountains of his native country for no less than seven years after his defeat at Falkirk, and for more than one year after all the other defenders of Scottish liberty had laid down their arms. Many proclamations were sent out against him by the English, and a great reward was set upon his head; for Edward did not think he could have any secure possession of his usurped kingdom of Scotland while Wallace lived. At length he was taken prisoner, and, shame it is to say, a Scotsman called Sir John Monteith was the person by whom he was seized and delivered to the English. It is generally said that he was made prisoner at Robroyston, near Glasgow; and the tradition of the country bears that the signal made for rushing upon him, and taking him at unawares was, when one of his pretended friends who betrayed him should turn a loaf, which was placed on the table with its bottom or flat side uppermost. And in after-times it was reckoned ill-breeding to turn a loaf in that manner, if there was a person named Monteith in the company; since it was as much as to remind him that his namesake had betrayed Sir William Wallace, the champion of Scotland.

Whether Sir John Monteith was actually the person by whom Wallace was betrayed is not perfectly certain. He was, however, the individual by whom the patriot was made prisoner, and delivered up to the English, for which his name and his memory have been long loaded with infamy.

Edward having thus obtained possession of the person whom he considered as the greatest obstacle to his complete conquest of Scotland, resolved to make Wallace an example to all Scottish patriots who should in future venture to oppose his ambitious projects. He caused this gallant defender of his country to be brought to trial in Westminster Hall, before the English judges, and produced him there, crowned in mockery, with a green garland, because they said he had been king of outlaws and robbers among the Scottish woods. Wallace was accused of having

been a traitor to the English crown ; to which he answered : "I could not be a traitor to Edward, for I was never his subject." He was then charged with having taken and burnt towns and castles—with having killed many men and done much violence. He replied with the same calm resolution : "That it was true he had killed very many Englishmen, but it was because they had come to subdue and oppress his native country of Scotland ; and, far from repenting what he had done, he declared he was only sorry that he had not put to death many more of them."

Notwithstanding that Wallace's defence was a good one, both in law and in common sense (for surely every one has not only a right to fight in defence of his native country, but is bound in duty to do so), the English judges condemned him to be executed. So this brave patriot was dragged upon a sledge to the place of execution, where his head was struck off, and his body divided into four quarters, which, according to the cruel custom of the time, were exposed upon spikes of iron on London Bridge, and were termed the limbs of a traitor.

## VI.—EDWARD II., 1307—1327.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Edward II., fourth son of Edward I. and Isabella of Castile, was born at Caernarvon, April 15, 1284. He was crowned at Westminster, February 14, 1308, and murdered at Berkeley Castle, September 21, 1327, in the forty-fourth year of his age, and the twentieth of his reign. He was buried at Gloucester.

2. He married Isabella of France, by whom he had two sons and two daughters. He was a weak and feeble prince, governed by favourites. His lavish bestowal of money and honours on one of these, Piers Gaveston, and his neglect of the nobility and people, soon weaned the affections of the nation from him.

3. Soon after his marriage with Isabella, the barons demanded the dismissal of Gaveston, who was banished (1308). Returning shortly after, he fell into the hands of some of the nobles, and was beheaded (1312) on Blacklaw Hill, near Coventry.

4. In 1313, Edward, roused from his apathy by the capture of the English garrisons in Scotland, marched into that country at the head of a large army. He was defeated at Bannockburn,

and obliged to retreat in haste. The war with Scotland was continued from 1313 to 1323, when a peace of thirteen years was agreed on.

5. The partiality of Edward for his new favourite, De Spencer, ultimately caused a war between the king and the barons. Even the queen and prince of Wales, who was declared by the barons guardian of the kingdom in 1325, sanctioned the revolt against the king.

6. This was speedily followed by the capture and death of young De Spencer and his father. Edward was deposed and imprisoned in Berkeley Castle, his son being immediately proclaimed king. After an imprisonment of eight months, during which he suffered the greatest indignities, the king was murdered by a painful and horrible mode of death.

7. Weak and utterly unfit for the management of a kingdom, his preference for favourites destroyed his power, and eventually his life. During his reign the kingdom was visited by a famine, which lasted many years.

#### THE BATTLE OF BANNOCKBURN, 1314.

[*From Tales of a Grandfather, by Sir Walter Scott. See page 115.*]

King Edward II. was not a wise and brave man like his father, but a foolish prince, who was influenced by unworthy favourites, and thought more of pleasure than of governing his kingdom. His father, Edward I., would have entered Scotland at the head of a large army before he had left Bruce time to conquer back so much of the country; but we have seen that, fortunately for the Scots, that wise and skilful though ambitious king died when he was on the point of marching into Scotland. His son Edward had afterwards neglected the Scottish war, and thus lost the opportunity of defeating Bruce when his force was small. But now, when Sir Philip Mowbray, the governor of Stirling, came to London to tell the king that Stirling, the last Scottish town of importance which remained in possession of the English, was to be surrendered, if it were not relieved by force of arms before midsummer, then all the English nobles called out it would be a sin and a shame to permit the fair conquest which Edward I. had made to be forfeited to the Scots for want of fighting. It was

therefore resolved that the king should go himself to Scotland with as great forces as he could possibly muster.

King Edward II., therefore, assembled one of the greatest armies which a king of England ever commanded. There were troops brought from all parts of his dominions. Many brave soldiers from the French provinces, which the king of England possessed in France, many Irish, many Welsh, and all the great English nobles and barons with their followers were assembled in one great army. The number was not less than 100,000 men.

King Robert the Bruce summoned all his nobles and barons to join him, when he heard of the great preparations which the king of England was making. They were not so numerous as the English by many thousand men. In fact his whole army did not much exceed 30,000, and they were much worse armed than the wealthy Englishmen; but then Robert, who was at their head, was one of the most expert generals of the time, and the officers he had under him were his brother Edward, his nephew Randolph, his faithful follower the Douglas, and other brave and experienced leaders, who commanded the same men that had been accustomed to fight and gain victories under every disadvantage of situation and numbers.

The Scottish king, on his part, studied how he might supply, by address and stratagem, what he wanted in numbers and strength. He knew the superiority of the English both in their heavy-armed cavalry, which were much better mounted and armed than that of the Scots, and in their archers, which were better trained than any others in the world. Both these disadvantages he resolved to provide against. With this purpose he led his army down into a plain near Stirling, called the park, near which, and beneath it, the English army must needs pass through a boggy country broken with water-courses, while the Scots occupied hard dry ground. He then caused all the ground upon the front of his line-of-battle, where cavalry were likely to act, to be dug full of holes as deep as a man's knee. They were filled with light brushwood, and the turf was laid on the top, so that it appeared a plain field, while in reality it was as full of these pits as a honeycomb is of

holes. He also, it is said, caused steel spikes called caltraps to be scattered up and down in the plain where the English cavalry were most likely to advance, trusting in that manner to lame and destroy their horses.

When the Scottish army was drawn up the line stretched north and south. On the south it was terminated by the banks of the brook called Bannockburn, which are so rocky that no troops could attack them there; on the left the Scottish line extended near to the town of Stirling. Bruce reviewed his troops very carefully; all the useless servants, drivers of carts, and such like, of whom there were very many, he ordered to go behind a height, afterwards, in memory of the event, called the Gillies' Hill, that is to say, the Servants' Hill. He then spoke to his soldiers, and expressed his determination to gain the victory or lose his life on the field of battle; he desired that all those who did not propose to fight to the last should leave the field before the battle began, and that none should remain except those who were determined to take the issue of victory or death as God should send it.

When the main body of his army was thus placed in order, the king posted Randolph with a body of horse near the church of St. Minian's, commanding him to use the utmost diligence to prevent any succours being thrown into Stirling Castle. He then dispatched James of Douglas and Sir Robert Keith, the mareschal of the Scottish army, in order that they might survey, as nearly as they could, the English force, which was now approaching from Falkirk. They returned with the information that the approach of that vast host was one of the most beautiful and terrible sights which could be seen—that the whole country seemed covered with men-at-arms, both horse and foot—that the number of standards, banners, and pennons (all flags of different kinds) made so gallant a show that the bravest and most numerous host in Christendom might be alarmed to see King Edward moving against them.

It was upon the 23rd of June the king of Scotland heard the news that the English army was approaching Stirling. He drew out his army, therefore, in the order which he had before resolved on. After a short time Bruce,

who was looking out anxiously for the enemy, saw a body of English cavalry trying to get into Stirling from the eastward. This was the Lord Clifford, who, with a chosen body of eight hundred horse, had been detached to relieve the castle.

"See, Randolph," said the king to his nephew, "there is a rose fallen from your chaplet." By this he meant that Randolph had lost some honour by suffering the enemy to pass where he had been stationed to hinder them. Randolph made no reply, but rushed against Clifford with little more than half his number. The Scots were on foot. The English turned to charge them with their lances, and Randolph drew up his men in close order to receive the onset. He seemed to be in so much danger that Douglas asked leave of the king to go and assist him.

The king refused permission. "Let Randolph," he said, "redeem his own fault; I cannot break the order of battle for his sake." Still the danger appeared greater, and the English horse seemed entirely to encompass the small handful of Scottish infantry. "So please you," said Douglas to the king, "my heart will not suffer me to stand idle and see Randolph perish. I must go to his assistance." He rode off accordingly, but long before they had reached the place of combat they saw the English horses galloping off, many with empty saddles.

"Halt!" said Douglas to his men, "Randolph has gained the day; since we were not soon enough to help him in the battle do not let us lessen his glory by approaching the field." Now that was nobly done, especially as Randolph and Douglas were always contending which should rise highest in the good opinion of the king and the nation.

The van of the English army now came in sight, and a number of their bravest knights drew near to see what the Scots were doing. They saw King Robert dressed in his armour, and distinguished by a gold crown which he wore over his helmet. He was not mounted on his great war horse, because he did not expect to fight that evening; but he rode a little pony up and down the ranks of his army, putting his men in order, and carried in his hand a sort of

battle axe made of steel. When the king saw the English horsemen draw near, he advanced a little before his own men that he might look at them more nearly.

There was a knight among the English called Sir Henry de Bohun, who thought this would be a good opportunity to gain great fame for himself, and put an end to the war, by killing King Robert. The king being poorly mounted, and having no lance, Bohun galloped on him suddenly and furiously, thinking with his long spear and his tall powerful horse easily to bear him down to the ground. King Robert saw him, and permitted him to come very near, then suddenly turned his pony a little to one side, so that Sir Henry missed him with the lance point, and was in the act of being carried past him by the career of his horse ; but as he passed, King Robert rose up in his stirrups, and struck Sir Henry on the head with his battle-axe so terrible a blow that it broke to pieces his iron helmet as if it had been a nutshell, and hurled him from his saddle. He was dead before he reached the ground. This gallant action was blamed by the Scottish leaders, who thought Bruce ought not to have exposed himself to so much danger when the safety of the whole army depended on him. The king only kept looking at his weapon, which was injured by the force of the blow, and said, "I have broken my good battle-axe."

The next morning, being the 24th of June, at break of day, the battle began in terrible earnest. The English, as they advanced, saw the Scots getting into line. The abbot of Inchaffray walked through their ranks barefooted, and exhorted them to fight for their freedom. They knelt down as he passed, and prayed to heaven for victory. King Edward, who saw this, called out, "They kneel down ; they are asking forgiveness." "Yes," said a celebrated English baron, called Ingelram de Umphraville, "but they ask it from God, not from us : these men will conquer, or die upon the field."

The English king ordered his men to begin the battle. The archers then bent their bows, and began to shoot so closely together that the arrows fell like flakes of snow on a Christmas Day. They killed many of the Scots, and



might, as at Falkirk and other places, have decided the victory ; but Bruce, as I told you before, was prepared for them. He had in readiness a body of men-at-arms, well mounted, who rode among the archers, and as they had no weapons save their bows and arrows, which they could not use when they were attacked hand to hand, they were cut down in great numbers by the Scottish horsemen, and thrown into total confusion.

The fine English cavalry then advanced to support their archers, and to attack the Scottish line. But coming over the ground which was dug full of pits, the horses fell into these holes, and the riders lay tumbling about, without any means of defence, and unable to rise from the weight of their armour. The Englishmen began to fall into general disorder, and the Scottish king, bringing up more of his forces, attacked and pressed them still more closely.

On a sudden, while the battle was obstinately maintained on both sides, an event happened which decided the victory. The servants and attendants on the Scottish camp had, as I told you, been sent behind the army to a place afterwards called the Gillies' Hill. But when they saw that their masters were likely to gain the day, they rushed from their place of concealment with such weapons as they could get, that they might have their share in the victory and in the spoil. The English, seeing them come suddenly over the hill, mistook this disorderly rabble for a new army coming up to maintain the Scots, and, losing all heart, began to shift every man for himself. Edward himself left the field as fast as he could ride. A valiant knight, Sir Giles de Argentine, much renowned in the wars of Palestine, attended the king until he got him out of the press of the combat. But he would retreat no farther. "It is not my custom," he said, "to fly." With that he took leave of the king, set spurs to his horse, and calling out his war-cry of Argentine ! Argentine ! he rushed into the thickest of the Scottish ranks, and was killed. The young earl of Gloucester was also slain, fighting valiantly. The Scots would have saved him, but as he had not put on his armorial bearings they did not know him, and he was cut to pieces.

Edward first fled to Stirling Castle, and entreated admittance, but Sir Philip Mowbray, the governor, reminded the fugitive sovereign that he was obliged to surrender the castle the next day ; so Edward was fain to ride through the Torwood, closely pursued by Douglas with a body of cavalry. An odd circumstance happened during the chase, which showed how loosely some of the Scottish barons of that day held their political opinions. As Douglas was riding furiously after Edward, he met a Scottish knight, Sir Lawrence Abernethy, with twenty horse. Sir Lawrence had hitherto owned the English interest, and was bringing this band of followers to serve in King Edward's army. But learning from Douglas that the English king was entirely defeated, he changed sides on the spot, and was easily prevailed on to join Douglas in pursuing the unfortunate Edward with the very followers whom he had been leading to join his standard.

Douglas and Abernethy continued the chase, not giving King Edward time to alight from horseback even for an instant, and followed him as far as Dunbar, where the English had still a friend in the governor, Patrick, earl of March. The earl received Edward in his forlorn condition, and furnished him with a fishing skiff, or small ship, in which he escaped to England.

The English never before or afterwards, whether in France or Scotland, lost so dreadful a battle as that of Bannockburn, nor did the Scots ever gain one of the same importance. Many of the best and bravest of the English nobility and gentry, as I have said, lay dead on the field, a great many more were made prisoners, and the whole of King Edward's army was dispersed or destroyed. The English after this great defeat were no longer in a condition to support their pretensions to be masters of Scotland, or to continue, as they had done for nearly twenty years, to send armies into that country to overcome it. On the contrary, they became for a time scarce able to defend their own frontiers against King Robert and his soldiers. The Scots laid waste the country of England as far as the gates of York, and enjoyed a considerable superiority over their ancient enemies, who had so lately threatened to make them subjects of England.

## VII.—EDWARD III. 1327—1377.

## HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Edward III. was born at Windsor, November 15, 1312, and was crowned at Westminster, February 1, 1327. He died at Richmond, near London, then called Sheene, June 21, 1377, in the sixty-fourth year of his age and the fifty-first of his reign. He was buried at Westminster.

2. He married Philippa of Hainault, by whom he had seven sons and five daughters. Of the sons the fourth and fifth, John of Gaunt or Ghent, duke of Lancaster, and Edmund, duke of York, became the heads of the rival houses of York and Lancaster, that caused so much bloodshed in England during the Wars of the Roses.

3. After an expedition against Scotland to punish an invasion of the kingdom by the Scotch soon after his accession, Edward made peace with that country (1328); but finding himself kept in the background by the Queen Dowager and Mortimer, earl of March, with whom she had formed a disgraceful connection, he entered into a league with some of his nobles, and procured the execution of Mortimer for malpractices, and the imprisonment of the Queen Dowager, his mother, for life (1330.)

4. In 1332, David, the young king of Scotland, was dethroned, and Edward Baliol, son of John Baliol, chosen king under the protection of Edward; but the Scotch rose against Baliol, and Edward led an army into Scotland. He defeated the adherents of David Bruce at the battle of Halidon Hill (1333), but in 1338 Baliol was again compelled to quit Scotland.

5. In the following year Edward put forth a claim to the crown of France, through Isabella, his mother, although she was clearly excluded from inheriting the crown by the old Salic law of France, by which females were debarred from the succession.

6. After many delays and differences with the Parliament, who refused to grant money to carry on the war without concessions of feudal rights from the king, the war was commenced in earnest by a sea fight, in which the English were victorious (1340).

7. Many sieges were sustained by English garrisons in France, and battles fought in the following years. At last the English were roused by the ill fortunes of the troops in France to take measures to enable Edward to prosecute the war with vigour.

8. In 1346, Edward landed on the coast of Normandy, and after plundering and destroying Cherbourg and other French towns and harbours, marched on Paris.

9. Unable to reach the capital, he retraced his steps, and in the course of his retreat found himself in the presence of a large body of French troops on the banks of the Somme, near Bismont, in Picardy. After crossing the river he fought the famous battle of Crecy or Cressy, in which the French sustained a total rout, the kings of Bohemia and Minorca, and many French nobles, being among the slain.

10. This victory was followed by the siege of Calais, which was taken by Edward after an obstinate resistance of nearly a twelvemonth (1347). Edward spared the lives of the citizens at the entreaty of his queen, Philippa, who had joined her husband after defeating the Scotch at the battle of Neville's Cross, in which David of Scotland was taken prisoner (1346).

11. A series of wars with France and Scotland followed, which are crowned by the Battle of Poitiers, fought September 19, 1356, in which Edward's son, the Black Prince, behaved with the utmost gallantry. The king of France was taken prisoner, and being unable to raise the ransom demanded for him, died in captivity.

12. In 1359, Edward attacked Rheims, but concluded the peace of Bretigny in the following year, thereby renouncing his pretensions to the French crown.

13. In 1367, the Black Prince led troops into Spain to support the Spanish king, Peter the Cruel, against his illegitimate brother, Henry of Trastamare. Two years after he returned to England, after a frightful massacre of the people of Limoges, who had incurred his displeasure for the betrayal of the city to the duke of Anjou.

14. The Black Prince, enfeebled by disease, died in 1376. His father survived him but a little more than one year. Brave and warlike, yet cruel and vindictive, he was one of the greatest monarchs that have sat on the throne of England.

15. In Edward's reign the people began to show a reluctance to submit to the discipline of the Church of Rome, and the first steps were taken which led ultimately to the Reformation in England; Wycliffe, the translator of the Bible, and priest of Lutterworth, pointing out the way to a purer faith, more consonant with the Word of God, and less clouded with errors and superstitions.

#### THE FRENCH POSSESSIONS OF THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.

*[From the French of Barthélemi Mercier, Abbe of St. Leger, in Soissons, who before he obtained this preferment, was librarian to*

*the Religious Society of Ste. Geneviève. He was deprived of his abbey at the French Revolution, and died in want and poverty. He died in 1799.]*

The English power in Aquitaine arose, as is well known, from the marriage of Henry II. with Eleanor, duchess of Aquitaine and countess of Ponthieu, the divorced wife of Louis VII. of France. To the inhabitants of Aquitaine this change of husbands on the part of their duchess was by no means displeasing. It seems to have been the general policy of the petty independencies in the south of France to endeavour to ally themselves as much as possible with monarchs at a distance from their frontiers, and to shun connection with those in nearer neighbourhood. They felt that their liberties, even their distinctive existence, were likely to merge in a great neighbouring power, while from a distant ruler they had nothing of this kind to fear; and he at the same time would be able to protect them from encroachments from their powerful neighbours, and would have a personal interest in doing so. Thus, therefore, the people of Aquitaine, however they might have preferred a chief born among themselves, received with pleasure rather than otherwise the assumption by Henry of the title and powers of duke, which, according to the customs of the time, his late marriage entitled him to assume.

Not long after this event Henry became count of Anjou by the death of his father, on the condition, however, to which he swore, of yielding it to his younger brother Geoffrey as soon as he succeeded to the English crown. This stipulation he never fulfilled, but, exercising the right of the strongest, he retained the inheritance of his brother by force; after whose death he still further extended his possessions in France by the acquisition of Brittany. Thus did he become possessed of the whole western coast of France south of Picardy; and this was the zenith of the English power on the continent previously to the time of Henry V.

But though the inhabitants of Aquitaine preferred the alliance of the English to that of the French king, they still looked back with regret to the times when they were

governed by one of their own nation, chosen by themselves—to the times, in a word, of their national independence. To regain this they made several struggles. Especially they took advantage of the dissension between Henry II. and his sons to further this purpose. The county of Poitou, which had been a part of Eleanor's dowry, as well as Aquitaine, had already been given to Prince Richard, and the Aquitainans more than once placed him at their head in their revolts against his father.

The repeated revolts, however, which took place in Aquitaine during the latter part of the reign of Henry II. did not take it from under subjection to the English crown: on the contrary, it was destined to remain attached to our kings after their old inheritance of Normandy was wrested from them, and incorporated with France. The immediate cause of this loss was the death of Arthur of Brittany. Normandy, in spite of the many points of collision which existed between it and France, properly so called, became amalgamated with it in a period singularly short. Before half a century had elapsed, the feelings of the Normans were completely identified with those of the French, and became entirely sundered and foreign from their ancient brethren on the other side of the Channel.

But Aquitaine still remained. Poitou, indeed, passed under the power of the French king, but further it did not extend. One of the most important of the errors which arise in reading the history of early times, from giving modern signification to words, is with reference to the kingdom of France. Even at the beginning of the thirteenth century it was only slowly and by degrees extending itself to the south of the Loire. When Philip Augustus embarked for Palestine, France, strictly so called, did not possess a harbour in the Mediterranean, and, indeed, did not reach to within many leagues of it. By the death of Arthur and the forfeiture of John, Poitou was now added to Philip's dominions; and as they thus adjoined Aquitaine, the people of the latter country, true to the principle I have more than once alluded to, adhered the more closely to England because they were nearer to France.

During the reign of Henry III. there seems to have been but very slight variation in the condition of Aquitaine, and its affairs seem to have gone on in a very peaceable manner from this time until the middle of the reign of Edward I., when, this monarch being taken up entirely with his designs on Scotland, Philip the Bold took advantage of a quarrel between the respective crews of a French and English vessel near Bayonne, to prosecute the ambitious views which the kings of France had long had upon Aquitaine. He accordingly sent a summons to Edward to appear before him at Paris, as his vassal for the duchy of Aquitaine, to answer for the outrages committed by his Gascon subjects. With this Edward did not choose to comply, but he sent his brother Edmund, earl of Lancaster, to Paris to negotiate on the subject. Philip, however, who was exceedingly irritated, would listen to no reasonable terms, and the earl had already set off on his return to England when the queen of England and queen-mother of France interposed, and through their active mediation a pacification was accomplished.

This business was one of the few in which Edward I. was foiled and completely over-reached by a breach of faith on the part of the French king. Philip alleging that he had real cause of grievance against the Gascons for their conduct towards his subjects, it was agreed that, to save the point of honour, the duchy should be yielded up into his hands; in consideration for which it should be immediately restored. As soon, however, as the French king had obtained possession all restoration was flatly refused; and a war in consequence ensued, with various fluctuations of success, which was concluded by the matters in dispute being referred to the arbitration of the pope, who, in 1299, ultimately decided: 1. That King Edward, who was then a widower, should marry the French king's sister Margaret; 2. That Prince Edward, the English king's eldest son, should, at a convenient time, marry Isabella, the French king's daughter; and 3. That the king of England should make reparation for the French ships taken at the beginning of the war, and that sundry towns in Gascony should be put in the pope's

hands, that it might be understood unto whom the right appertained.

This last article remained little more than a dead letter, for the French king refused to give up the towns which he held; and Edward, consequently, declined to make compensation for the ships. About two years afterwards, however, the French king and the pope quarrelling, the former feared that the pontiff would excite Edward to make war upon him on account of the retention of Gascony, and he accordingly yielded it up at once into his hands. The people of Bordeaux had driven out the French shortly before, and now of their own accord they returned under the government of the English, to whom, at all times, they showed particular attachment.

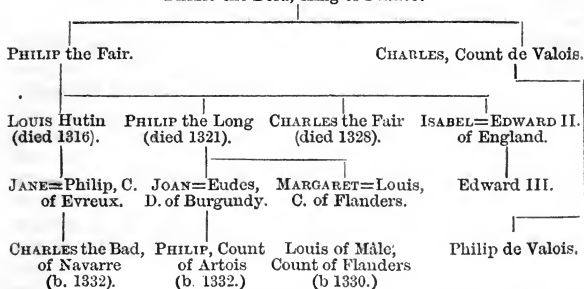
In the reign of Edward II., another somewhat similar attempt was made to deprive England of her power over Aquitaine, arising like the former, from the anomalous claims of suzerainty over an independent monarch. Upon the refusal of Edward to appear before the king of France, grounded in some measure upon an irregularity in the summons, the French king sent a considerable army into the south, which took possession of the Agenois, and threatened the whole duchy of Aquitaine. After considerable negotiations, Queen Isabella was sent over to her brother to endeavour to bring matters to an amicable issue, and it was ultimately agreed that the king of England should cede his continental dominions, consisting of the duchy of Aquitaine and the county of Ponthieu to his eldest son, who should do homage for them to the French king; but that if the young prince should die before his father, these territories should then revert to him.

Thus Edward III. became possessed of these French dominions before he succeeded to the throne of England. The great contest that ensued for the succession to the French crown gave an entirely new complexion to the nature of the king's dominions on the continent; and in this place they come prominently forward upon the surface of the national history of England. The main interest, indeed, of that history lies, with a few intervening exceptions, on its foreign wars for upwards of a century from this period :



for it is not until the ultimate expulsion of the English in the reign of Henry VI. that the curtain can be considered as having finally fallen upon the great drama begun at the accession of Philip de Valois. In order to show distinctly the order of descent from which arose the claim of Edward III. to the throne of France, the following table is given, which will make it clearer than any verbal detail :—

PHILIP the Bold, King of France.



Edward III. at first grounded his claim on his being the male *nearest in blood* to the last king who was capable of succeeding, he being his nephew, and Philip de Valois his cousin-german. According to the phraseology in which the dispute was conducted, he claimed not by right of representation—that is, as representing his mother—but by right of proximity. The objections to this confused mode of argument appear to be unanswerable. Edward's right was derived through his mother; his claim, therefore, in fact, rested on his being grandson to Philip the Fair, the father of the last three kings, and consequently his heir, in preference to his nephew. The first objection set up against this was the celebrated Salic law, which excluded females from succession to the crown of France. It being evident, however, that if the right of female succession were established, the daughters of any of the last three kings would have a claim preferable to his own, Edward admitted the authenticity of the Salic law as far

as it regarded the exclusion of females themselves ; but he alleged that this was on account of the natural imbecility of their sex, and did not apply to their heirs, though it did to themselves.

To this was opposed the almost universal usage of feudal inheritance, and the doctrine that no person could transmit a right which was not vested in himself. The extreme confusion that would arise from such a preposterous principle of succession is demonstrated by the circumstances of the present case. According to this doctrine Edward would have succeeded to the French crown in 1328, on the death of Charles the Fair ; but he would have been superseded by Louis of Mâle, who was born in 1330, of Margaret, second daughter of Philip the Long, who must again have given place to his cousin Philip, count of Artois, the son of Joan, Philip's elder daughter ; and this prince, in the very year of his birth, must have yielded to Charles of Navarre, the grandson, through a female of Louis Hutin, the last king who had inherited through a direct male line. A reference to the foregoing table will set this before the reader at a glance.

Recent circumstances also had combined to give peculiar force to the Salic law. From Hugh Capet to Louis Hutin the crown had descended from father to son through eleven generations. At his death the queen was left pregnant, and his brother was appointed to the regency, in order to await the birth of the infant, that its sex might be ascertained. The queen produced a boy, but he died at the expiration of a few days, and Philip the Long was declared king. In the interim a council, held July 17, 1316, at which all the princes of the blood and the great barons assisted, determined that if the queen bore a female the crown of France descended of right to Philip the Long ; but that of Navarre would belong to Jane, daughter of Louis Hutin, as females were not excluded from that crown.

Notwithstanding this, on the death of the infant son of the queen, the duke of Burgundy, who was maternal uncle to Jane, protested against Philip being crowned until his niece's claims had been investigated, although he had him-

self coincided with the decision of the council. Philip the Long, however, to set the question for ever at rest, convoked an assembly of all the great nobles of the state, including the bishops and the University of Paris. This was held on the 2nd of February, 1317, when it was unanimously decided "that the laws and customs observed among the French inviolably excluded females from the crown." To this decision the duke of Burgundy and the count de la Marche, afterwards king as Charles IV., or the Fair, who had joined in his former remonstrance, subscribed.

Philip the Long also died without male issue, and his brother, Charles the Fair, succeeded without opposition. He also died leaving only a daughter and his widow pregnant. It was now that the claim of Edward III. was first brought forward ; for, as it was intended to appoint to the regency the prince who would succeed in the event of the queen bearing a daughter, Edward asserted that that person was himself. He sent, in consequence, ambassadors to Paris, who pleaded his cause before the peers of France in a solemn hearing of the cause, when the regency was conferred upon Philip de Valois. The queen was delivered of a daughter, and then Philip succeeded to the crown.

Some months after Philip's accession Edward did homage to him as king of France for his duchy of Aquitaine, thereby acknowledging the right of that prince. He was at that time engaged in wars with Scotland, and was also very young, and but recently seated on the throne. When, therefore, he assumed the title of king of France, in 1339, he pleaded these circumstances as having enforced his previous submission. We will admit for a moment the excuse of present necessity—the excuse of all others to be admitted with most jealousy—for this acknowledgment ; and still, upon his own showing, and, indeed, upon each and every view of the question, the right of Edward was utterly null and futile. Admitting the Salic law fully, Philip was the rightful heir ; denying it fully, Jane, the daughter of Louis Hutin, was the rightful successor to the throne, and the last two kings had been usurpers ; admitting it partially (to the exclusion, namely, of females, but not of their male heirs), Charles of Navarre, who at that time was

seven years old, had the best right to the crown. As for the idle talk about proximity, without tracing whence that proximity arose, it is a principle too extravagant even to be discussed ; and, indeed, the case was really argued on the ground of females transmitting their rights as above stated. Surely, therefore, it is clear that there never was a claim less founded than that of Edward III. to the crown of France.

## VIII.—RICHARD II., 1377—1399.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Richard II., the son of Edward the Black Prince and Joan of Kent, was born at Bordeaux, January 6, 1367. He was crowned at Westminster, July 16, 1377, and murdered at Pontefract Castle, February 14, 1400, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, having been deposed in the previous year in the twenty-third of his reign. He was buried at King's Langley, Herts.

2. He married, first, Anne of Luxemburg, and, secondly, Isabel of France. He left no children to inherit his throne, and with him ended the *main line* of the Plantagenets.

3. The accession of Richard was followed by the insurrection of Wat Tyler, who led to London a large body of peasants, demanding a redress of grievances and a repeal of the poll-tax. Tyler was slain in Smithfield by Sir William Walworth, lord mayor of London, during an interview with the king.

4. Richard had the address to lead away the mob, who had done much mischief in London, from the city ; and, pardoning the rebellion, promised them a charter and the abolition of serfdom, which the barons strenuously opposed.

5. In 1385, the Scotch, incited by the French, who furnished them with money and troops, entered Northumberland. Richard retaliated by driving them back, and destroying Edinburgh and other Scottish towns.

6. Richard, wearied of the control exercised over him by his uncles, especially the Duke of Gloucester, assumed the reins of government (1389), and reigned for many years with much discretion and ability ; but at last, having procured an assignment of fixed taxes for the remainder of his life, and a Parliament servilely compliant to his wishes, he neglected the interests of the people, grew lavish in his expenditure, and proscribed the nobles opposed to his views.

7. Henry Bolingbroke, earl of Hereford, the son of the duke of Lancaster, and the king's cousin, had accused the duke of Norfolk of high treason. Norfolk challenged him to mortal combat; but when the combatants entered the lists, Richard stopped the duel and banished both of them (1398).

8. In the following year, Bolingbroke, who had succeeded to the dukedom of Lancaster, enraged at the confiscation of his estates by Richard, returned to England and landed at Ravenspur, a town which once stood opposite Grimsby, but which was long ago washed away by the sea.

9. He was joined by Percy, earl of Northumberland, and other discontented nobles. Richard was deserted by all, and deposed shortly after the meeting of Parliament, by which Henry of Lancaster was acknowledged king. Richard was sent a prisoner to Pontefract, or Pomfret, Castle, where he was murdered a year after his deposition. Some historians assert that he escaped from prison and lived for many years in retirement in Scotland.

#### THE RISING OF WAT TYLER AND THE KENTISH PEASANTS.

[*From the "History of England," by David Hume. See page 64.*]

Edward III. left his grandson, Richard II., involved in many dangerous wars. The pretensions of the duke of Lancaster to the crown of Castile made that kingdom still persevere in hostilities against England. Scotland, whose throne was now filled by Robert Stuart, nephew to David Bruce, and the first prince of that family, maintained such close connections with France, that war with one crown almost inevitably produced hostilities with the other. The French monarch, whose prudent conduct had acquired him the surname of the Wise, as he had already baffled all the experience and valour of the two Edwards, was likely to prove a dangerous enemy to a minor king; but his genius, which was not naturally enterprising, led him not at present to give any disturbance to his neighbours, and he laboured, besides, under many difficulties at home, which it was necessary for him to surmount before he could think of making conquests in a foreign country. England was master of Calais, Bordeaux, and Bayonne, had lately acquired possession of Cherbourg from the cession of the

king of Navarre, and of Brest from that of the duke of Brittany ; and having thus an easy entrance into France from every quarter was able, even in its present situation, to give disturbance to his government. Before Charles could remove the English from these important posts he died in the flower of his age, and left his kingdom to a son under age, who bore the name of Charles VI.

Meanwhile the war with France was carried on in a manner somewhat languid, and produced no enterprise of great lustre or renown. Sir Hugh Calverley, governor of Calais, making an inroad into Picardy with a detachment of the garrison, set fire to Boulogne. The duke of Lancaster conducted an army into Brittany, but returned without being able to perform anything memorable. In a subsequent year the duke of Gloucester marched out of Calais with a body of two thousand cavalry and eight thousand infantry, and scrupled not with his small army to enter into the heart of France, and to continue his ravages through Picardy, Champagne, and other parts of the country, till he reached his allies in the province of Brittany. The duke of Burgundy, at the head of a more considerable army, came within sight of him ; but the French were so overawed by the former successes of the English, that no superiority of numbers could tempt them to venture a pitched battle with the troops of that nation. As the duke of Brittany, soon after the arrival of these succours, formed an accommodation with the court of France, this enterprise also proved in the issue unsuccessful, and made no durable impression upon the enemy.

The expenses of these armaments, and the usual want of money attending a minority much exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the Parliament, besides making some alterations in the council, to impose a new and unusual tax of three groats upon every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age ; and they ordained that in levying that tax the opulent should relieve the poor by an equitable compensation. This imposition produced a mutiny, which was singular in its circumstances. All history abounds with examples where the great tyrannise over the meaner sort ; but here the lowest populace rose against their rulers,

committed the most cruel ravages upon them, and took vengeance for all former oppressions.

The faint dawn of the arts and of good government in that age had excited the minds of the populace in different parts of Europe to wish for a better condition, and to murmur against those chains which the laws, enacted by the haughty nobility and gentry, had so long imposed on them. The commotions of the people of Flanders, the mutiny of the peasants in France, were the national effects of this growing spirit of independence; and the reports of these events being brought to England, where personal slavery, as we learn from Froissart, was more general than in any other country in Europe, had prepared the minds of the multitude for an insurrection. One John Ball also, a seditious preacher, who affected low popularity, went about the country, and inculcated on his audience, the principle of the first origin of mankind from one common stock, their equal right to liberty and all the goods of nature, the tyranny of artificial distinctions, and the abuses which had arisen from the degradation of the more considerable part of the species, and the aggrandisement of a few insolent rulers. These doctrines, so agreeable to the populace, and so conformable to the ideas of primitive equality which are engraven in the hearts of all men, were greedily received by the multitude, and scattered the sparks of that sedition which the present tax raised into a conflagration.

The imposition of three groats a head had been farmed out to tax-gatherers in each county, who levied the money on the people with vigour: and the clause making the rich ease their poorer neighbours of some share of the burden being so vague and indeterminate, had, doubtless, occasioned many partialities, and made the people more sensible of the unequal lot which fortune had assigned them in the distribution of her favours. The first disorder was raised by a blacksmith in a village in Essex. The tax-gatherers came to this man's shop while he was at work; and demanded payment for his daughter, whom he asserted to be below the age assigned by the statute. One of these fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof to the

contrary, and at the same time laid hold of the maid, which the father resenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The bystanders applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. They immediately flew to arms; the whole neighbourhood joined in the sedition. The flame spread in an instant over the county; it soon propagated itself into those of Kent, Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. Before the government had the least warning of the danger, the disorder had grown beyond control or opposition; the populace had shaken off all regard to their former masters, and being headed by the most audacious and criminal of their associates, who assumed the feigned names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and John Miller, by which they were fond of denoting their mean origin, they committed everywhere the most outrageous violence on such of the gentry or nobility who had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

The mutinous populace, amounting to a hundred thousand men, assembled on Blackheath under their leaders Tyler and Straw; and as the princess of Wales, the king's mother, returning from a pilgrimage to Canterbury, passed through the midst of them, they insulted her attendants, and some of the most insolent among them, to show their purpose of levelling all mankind, forced kisses from her; but they allowed her to continue her journey without attempting any further injury. They sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower, that they desired a conference with him. Richard sailed down the river in a barge for that purpose: but on his approaching the shore, he saw such symptoms of tumult and insolence that he put back and returned to that fortress. The seditious peasants, meanwhile, favoured by the populace of London, had broken into the city, had burned the duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, cut off the heads of all the gentlemen they laid hold of, expressed a particular animosity against the lawyers and attorneys, and pillaged the warehouses of the rich merchants. A great body



quartered themselves at Mile-end; and the king, finding no defence in the Tower, which was weakly garrisoned and ill-supplied with provisions, was obliged to go out to them and ask their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the service due by villeinage. These requests which, though extremely reasonable in themselves, the nation was not sufficiently prepared to receive, and which it was dangerous to have extorted by violence, were however complied with; charters to that purpose were granted them, and this body immediately dispersed, and returned to their several homes.

During this transaction another body of the rebels had broken into the Tower; had murdered Simon Sudbury, the primate and chancellor, with Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and some other persons of distinction, and continued their ravages in the city. The king, passing along Smithfield very slenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler at the head of these rioters, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, after which they were to murder all the company except the king himself, whom they were to detain a prisoner, feared not to come into the midst of the royal retinue. He there behaved himself in such a manner that Walworth, the mayor of London, not able to bear his insolence, drew his sword, and struck him so violent a blow as brought him to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched by others of the king's attendants.

The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and the whole company, with the king himself, had undoubtedly perished on the spot had it not been for the extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. He ordered his company to stop; advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and accosting them with an affable but intrepid countenance, asked them: "What is the meaning of this disorder, my good people? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king: I will be your leader."

The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly fol-

lowed him. He led them into the fields, to prevent any disorder that might have arisen from their continuing in the city. Being there joined by Sir Robert Knolles and a body of well-armed veteran soldiers who had been secretly drawn together, he strictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters, and committing an undistinguished slaughter upon them; and he peaceably dismissed them with the same charters which had been granted to their fellows.

Soon after, the nobility and gentry hearing of the king's danger—in which they were all involved—flocked to London with their adherents and retainers, and Richard took the field at the head of an army forty thousand strong. It then behoved all the rebels to submit. The charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by Parliament; the people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before, and several of the ringleaders were severely punished for the late disorders. Some were even executed without process or form of law. It was pretended that the intentions of the mutineers had been to seize the king's person, to carry him through England at their head; to murder all the nobility, gentry, and lawyers, and even all the bishops and priests, except the mendicant friars; to dispatch the king himself afterwards; and having thus reduced all to a level, to order the kingdom at their pleasure. It is not impossible but many of them, in the delirium of their first success, might have formed such projects; but of all the evils incident to human society, the insurrections of the populace, when not raised and supported by persons of higher quality, are the least to be dreaded. The mischiefs consequent to the abolition of all rank and distinction become so great that they are immediately felt and soon bring affairs back to their former order and arrangement.

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## PART VII.—THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER. 1399—1461.

*(Plantagenet Dynasty continued.)*

### I.—HENRY IV. (1399—1413.)

#### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Henry IV., son of John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, was

born at Bolingbroke, in Lincolnshire, in 1367. He was crowned at Westminster, October 13, 1399, and died at Westminster, March 20, 1413, in the forty-sixth year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign. He was buried at Canterbury.

2. He married, firstly, Mary de Bohun, by whom he had four sons and two daughters; and secondly, Joan of Navarre.

3. The position of Henry on his accession was far from secure. To strengthen his position, however, he made numerous concessions to the people; but various conspiracies were formed against his life, and his reign was troubled with insurrections at home.

4. In 1400, in consequence of a report of the escape of Richard II. to Scotland, Henry demanded homage from the Scottish king, and led an army into Scotland to enforce it, but the advance of his troops was checked by the duke of Rothesay. A serious insurrection in Wales, under Owen Glendower, followed, who successfully resisted the attempts of Henry to check and subdue it.

5. A quarrel arose between the Scotch earls of March and Douglas. March did homage to Henry, and being attacked by Douglas was assisted by the Percys of Northumberland, who defeated the Scotch in the battles of Nesbitt Moor and Homildon Hill, 1402.

6. In consequence of Henry's refusal to allow the Percys to admit the prisoners taken in these battles to ransom, they determined to drive him from the throne, and, with this end in view, entered into a league with the Scotch and Owen Glendower. The king defeated the confederates in the battle of Shrewsbury, in which Harry Percy, better known as Hotspur, is slain (1403).

7. Shortly after the French made a descent upon Guienne and the West of England, and burnt Plymouth. The English retaliated by burning and destroying towns on the French coast. These events were followed by a rising in the north, which was put down by treacherous conduct on the part of the leaders of Henry's troops towards the heads of the rebel forces.

8. In 1405, Owen Glendower, assisted by French troops, successfully resisted Henry's authority in Wales. Prince Henry, however, continued the contest there, and in 1409 completed the subjection of the country.

9. Percy, the earl of Northumberland, encouraged by dissensions between Henry and his Parliament, made another effort to drive him from the throne. Supported by some Scottish nobles he fought the battle of Bramham Moor (1408), in which his troops were completely defeated, and he himself slain.

10. The last act of importance of Henry's reign was an attack on France by the English troops under the duke of Clarence. They had entered that country to assist the partisans of the duke of Orleans against the Armagnac faction. Being refused money to defray the cost of the expedition, Clarence laid waste many provinces, ostensibly for the reason named, but in reality to avenge the hostility shown by the French to his father throughout his reign.

11. In 1413, Henry died. Handsome, cheerful, and gay in his youth, death reached him early. The prime of manhood changed to a premature old age, by disease, remorse, grief, and the cares of a troubled reign.

12. In his youth Henry supported Wycliffe and his followers; but on coming to the throne he purchased the support of the Church of Rome by cruelly persecuting them, for in his reign the early reformers, then called Lollards, were first burnt at the stake.

#### THE DUKE OF EXETER'S CONSPIRACY.

[From "*The Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York, with all the Acts done in the Times of the Princes both of one lineage and the other*," being a chronicle of English history during the reigns of the kings of England, from Henry IV. to Henry VIII., compiled by Edward Hall, a lawyer and judge in the Sheriff's court of London, who died in 1547.]

At this time was an abbot in Westminster, a man of apparent virtues, openly professing Christ, Christian charity, and due subjection and obeisance to his prince, which abbot hearing King Henry once say, when he was earl of Derby and of no mature age or grown gravely, that princes had too little, and religious men had too much, imagined in himself that he now obtaining the crown of the realm, if he were therein a long continuer, would remove the great beam that then grieved his eyes and pricked his conscience. For you must understand that these monastic personages, learned and illiterate, better fed than taught, took upon them to write and register in the book of fame, the noble acts, the wise doings, and the politic governances of kings and princes, in which history, if a king gave to them possessions, or granted them liberties, or exalted them to honour and worldly dignity, he was called a saint; he was

praised without any desert above the moon, his genealogy was written, and not one iota that might exalt his fame was either forgotten or omitted. But if a Christian prince had touched their liberties, or justly claimed any part of their possessions, or would have intermitted in their holy franchises, or desired aid of them against his and their common enemies, then tongues talked and pens wrote that he was a tyrant, a depressor of holy religion, an enemy of Christ's church and his holy flock, and an accursed person with Dathan and Abiram to the deep pit of hell. Wherefore the proverb began, "Give and be blessed ; take away and be accursed." Thus the fear of losing their possessions made them pay yearly annates to the Romish bishop : thus the fear of correction and honest restraint of liberty made them from their ordinaries, yea, almost from obedience of their princes, to sue dispensations, exemptions, and immunities.

The abbot that I spoke of, which could not well forget the saying of King Henry, and being before in great favour and high estimation with King Richard, called to his house on a day in the term season, all such lords and other persons which he either knew or thought to be as affectionate to King Richard, and envious to the estate and advancement of King Henry, whose names were John Holland, duke of Exeter and earl of Huntingdon ; Thomas Holland, duke of Surrey and earl of Kent ; Edward, duke of Aumerle and earl of Rutland, son to the duke of York ; John Montague, earl of Salisbury ; Hugh Spenser, earl of Gloucester ; John, the bishop of Carlisle ; Sir Thomas Blount, and Magdalen, one of King Richard's chapel, a man as like to him in stature and proportion in all lineaments of his body as unlike in birth, dignity, or conditions. This abbot highly feasted these great lords and his special friends ; and when they had well dined, they all withdrew themselves into a secret chamber and sat down to council. When they were set, John Holland, duke of Exeter, whose rage of revenging the injury done to King Richard was in no way mitigated nor mollified, but rather increased and augmented, declared to them their allegiance promised, and by oath confirmed, to King Richard, his brother, forgetting not the high pro-

motions and notable dignities which he and all others there present had obtained by the high favour and munificent liberality of his said brother, by the which they were not only by oath and allegiance bound, and also by kindness and urbanity incensed and moved, to take part with him and with his friends, but also bound to be revenged for him and his cause on his mortal enemies and deadly foes, in doing which he thought policy fitter to be used than force, and some witty practice rather to be experimented (made trial of) than manifest hostility or open war. And, for the expedition of this enterprise, he devised a solemn tournament to be undertaken between him and twenty on his part, and the earl of Salisbury and twenty on his part, at Oxford: to the which triumph King Henry should be invited: and, when he was most busily regarding the martial play and warlike disports, he suddenly should be slain and destroyed. By this means King Richard, who was yet alive, should be restored to liberty and repossessed of his crown and kingdom. And the plotters appointed farther who should assemble the people, the number, and persons which should accomplish and perform this invented essay and policy.

This device so much pleased the seditious congregation, that they not only made an indenture sextipartite, sealed with their seals and signed with their hands, in the which each bound himself to other to use every endeavour, both for the destruction of King Henry and the creation of King Richard, but also swore on the Holy Evangelists the one to be true and secret to the others, even to the hour and point of death. When all things were thus appointed and concluded, the duke of Exeter came to the king at Windsor, requiring him, for the love that he bore to the noble acts of chivalry, that he would vouchsafe not only to repair to Oxford to see and behold their manly feats and warlike pastime, but also to be the discoverer and indifferent judge (if any ambiguity should arise) of their courageous acts and royal triumph.

The king, seeing himself so earnestly desired, and the great wish of his brother-in-law that he should come, and imagining nothing less than that which was pretended,

gently gave assent, and, in a friendly manner, condescended to grant his request, which thing obtained, all the lords of this conspiracy departed to their houses (as they declared) to set armourers at work in trimming their harness for the solemn tournament. Some had the helm, the visor, the two baviars, and the two plackards of the same curiously graven and cunningly adorned; some had their collars fretted, and others had them set with gilt bullions. One company had the plackards, the rest, the burley, the tassels, the lamboys, the backpiece, the tapul, and the border of the cuirass all gilt, and another band had them all enamelled azure. One part had the vambraces, the paceguards, the grandguards, the poldren, the pollettes, parted with gold and azure, and another lot had them silver and sable. Some had the mainfers, the close gauntlets, the guisettes, the flamards, dropped and gutted with red, and others had them speckled with green; others had the cuisses, the greaves, the surlettes, the sockets on the right side and on the left side silver. Some had the spear, the bur, the cronet, all yellow, and others had them of divers colours. One band had the scafferon, the cranet, the band of the horse all white, and others had them all gilt. Some had their arming swords freshly burnished, and some had them cunningly varnished. Some spurs were white, some gilt, and others coal black. One part had their plumes all white, another had them all red, and a third had them of several colours. One wore on his headpiece his lady's sleeve, and another bore on his helm the glove of his darling; but to declare the costly bases, the rich bards, the pleasant trappings both of goldsmiths' work and embroidery, no less sumptuously than curiously wrought, it would take a long time to declare, for every man after his own devised his fancy, verifying the old proverb—"So many heads, so many wits."

The duke of Exeter came to his house and raised men on every side, and prepared horse and harness meet and apt for his compassed purpose. When the duchess, his wife, which was sister to King Henry, perceived this, she imagined that some trouble was being prepared against her brother, as was indeed imminent and at hand, wherefore she wept and made great lamentation. When the

duke perceived her dolour he said : "What, Bess, how chanceth this? When my brother, King Richard, was deposed of his dignity and committed to hard and sharp prison, which had been king and ruled this realm nobly by the space of twenty-two years, and your brother was exalted to the throne and dignity imperial of the same, then my heart was heavy, my life stood in jeopardy, and my comb was clearly cut, but you then rejoiced, laughed, and triumphed; wherefore I pray you be content that I may as well rejoice and have pleasure at the delivering and restoring of my brother justly to his dignity, as you were jocund and pleasant when your brother unjustly and untruly deprived and disseized my brother of the same. For of this I am sure, that if my brother prosper you and I shall not fall nor decline, but if your brother continue in his estate and magnificence I doubt not your decay nor mine, but I suspect the loss of my life, besides the forfeiture of my lands and goods." When he had spoken he kissed his lady, who was sorrowful and pensive, and he departed towards Oxford with a great company both of archers and horsemen, and when he came there he found ready all his mates and confederates, well appointed for their purpose, except the duke of Aumerle, earl of Rutland, for whom they sent messengers in great haste. This duke of Aumerle went before from Westminster to see his father, the duke of York; and sitting at dinner, had his counterpart of the indenture of the confederacy, whereof I spoke before, in his bosom.

The father espied it and demanded what it was; his son lowly and benignly answered that it might not be seen, and that it touched him not. "By Saint George," quoth the father, "I will see it," and so by force took it out of his bosom. When he perceived the contents and the six signs or seals set and fixed to the same, whereof the seal of his son was one, he suddenly rose from the table, commanding his horses to be saddled, and in a great fury said to his son, "Thou traitor, thief; thou hast been a traitor to King Richard, and wilt thou now be false to thy cousin King Henry? Thou knowest well enough that I am thy pledge, bail, and surety, body for body, and land for goods, in open



Parliament, and goest thou about to seek my death and destruction? By the Holy Rood, I had rather see thee strangled on a gibbet." And so the duke of York mounted on horseback to ride towards Windsor to the king, and to declare the whole effect of his son and his adherents and partakers.

The duke of Aumerle, seeing in what case he stood, took his horse and rode another way to Windsor, riding in haste thither, which his father, being an old man, could not do. And when he was alighted at the castle gate, he caused the gates to be shut, saying that he must needs deliver up the keys to the king. When he came into the king's presence he kneeled down on his knees, beseeching him for mercy and forgiveness. The king demanded the cause. Then he declared to him plainly the whole confederacy and entire conspiracy in manner and form as you have heard. "Well," said the king, "if this be true we pardon you; if it be feigned at your extreme peril be it." While the king and the duke talked together, the duke of York knocked at the castle gate, whom the king caused to be let in, and then he delivered the indenture, which he had previously taken from his son, into the king's hands. Which writing when he had read and seen, perceiving the signs and seals of the confederates, he changed his former purpose. For the day before, having heard that the challengers were all ready and that the defenders had come to do their devoir, he purposed to have departed towards the triumph the next day; but by his prudent and forecasting counsel, somewhat stayed until he might see the air clear and no dark spot near to the place where the lists were. And now being advertised of the truth and verity, how his destruction and death were compassed, was not a little vexed, but with a great and merciless agony perturbed and unquieted, and therefore determined to make his abode, not having time to look and gaze on jousts and tourneys, but to take heed how to keep and conserve his life and dignity, and in that place tarried until he knew what way his enemies would set forward; and shortly wrote to the earl of Northumberland, his high constable, and to the earl of Westmorland, his high marshal, and to others of his

assured friends, of all the doubtful danger and perilous jeopardy. The conspirators, perceiving by the lack of the duke of Aumerle's coming, and also seeing no preparations made there for the king's coming, imagined to themselves that their enterprise was divulged and made known to the king.

Wherefore that thing which they attempted to do privily they now determined to set forth, and advance with spear and shield with all diligent celerity. And so they adorned Magdelen, a man much resembling King Richard, in royal and princely vesture, calling him King Richard, affirming that he, by favour of his keepers, was delivered out of prison and set at liberty; and they followed four abreast with the determination to destroy King Henry, as the most pernicious and venomous enemy to them and his own natural country. While the confederates, with this new-published idol, accompanied by a puissant army of men, took the direct way and passage towards Windsor, King Henry, being admonished of their approaching, with a few horse, in the night, came to the Tower of London about twelve o'clock, where he in the morning caused the mayor of the city to apparel in armour the best and most courageous persons of the city, which brought to him three thousand archers and three thousand billmen, besides them which were deputed to defend the city.

The lords of the confederacy entered Windsor Castle, and, not finding their prey, they determined, with all speed, to pass forth to London. But on their way, changing their purpose, they returned to the town of Colbrook, and there tarried. These lords had much people following them, what for fear and what for entreaty, surely believing that King Richard was there present, and in company. King Henry issued out of London, and came to Hounslow Heath, where he pitched his camp, abiding the coming of his enemies. But when they were advertised of the king's puissance, or else amazed with fear, or forethinking and repenting their bygone baseness, or mistrusting their own company and fellows, departed from thence to Berkhamstead, and so to Chichester, and there the lords took their lodging—the duke of Surrey, earl of Kent, and the earl

of Salisbury in one inn, and the duke of Exeter and the earl of Gloucester in another, and all the host lay in the fields. The bailiff of the town, with fourscore archers, set on the house where the duke of Surrey and others lay. The house was bravely assaulted, and strongly defended a great space. The duke of Exeter, being in another inn with the earl of Gloucester, set fire to divers houses in the town, thinking that the assailants would leave the assault and rescue their goods, which thing they nothing regarded.

The host lying without, hearing noise, and seeing fire in the town, believing that the king was come thither with his puissance, fled without measure to save themselves. The duke of Exeter and his company, seeing the force of the townsmen increasing more and more, fled out of the town by the back, intending to repair to the army, which they found dispersed and retired. Then the duke, seeing no hope of comfort, fled into Essex, and the earl of Gloucester, going towards Wales, was taken, and beheaded at Bristol. Magdalen, flying into Scotland, was apprehended, and brought to the Tower. The lords who fought still in the town of Chichester were wounded to death, and taken, and their heads struck off and sent to London; and there were taken Sir Bennet Shelley and Sir Barnard Brokas, and twenty-nine other lords, knights, and esquires, and sent to Oxford, where the king then sojourned, where Sir Thomas Blount and all the other prisoners were executed.

When the duke of Exeter heard that his accomplices were taken, and his counsellors apprehended, and his friends and allies sent to execution, he lamented his own chance, and bewept the misfortunes of his friends, but most of all bewailed the fatal end of his brother, King Richard, whose death he saw as in a mirror, by his unhappy sedition and malicious attempt to be brought near at hand; and so wandering, lurking, and hiding himself in privy places, was attacked in Essex, and in the lordship of Plasshey, a town of the duchess of Gloucester, and there made shorter by the head; and in that place especially, because that he in the same lordship seduced and falsely betrayed Thomas, duke of Gloucester, and by

his treachery and deceit brought about his death and destruction. So the common proverb was verified : "As you have done, so shall you feel."

## II.—HENRY V., 1413—1422.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Henry V., the eldest son of Henry IV., was born at Monmouth in 1388, and crowned at Westminster, April 9, 1413. He died at Vincennes, near Paris, August 31, 1422, in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign. He was buried at Westminster.

2. He married Catherine of France, by whom he had one son, who succeeded him. Contrary to all expectation this monarch acted wisely and discreetly after his accession to power. His youth had been marked by dissipation and thoughtlessness. He had even struck the Chief Justice in open court, for committing one of his worthless associates to prison, for which the prince himself was punished by imprisonment (1407).

3. The commencement of his reign was marked by an insurrection of the Lollards, many of whom were taken and burnt at the stake.

4. In 1415, Henry determined to invade France. He made a descent on Harfleur, which he took after a siege of two months. Leaving his uncle, the earl of Dorset, in Harfleur, as governor, he marched into Picardy; but finding his army thinned by disease, and the French approaching in great force, he retreated on Calais.

5. At Agincourt, a village on the road to Calais, the English encountered the French on October 25, 1415, and completely defeated them, though with a force very inferior in point of numbers to the imposing array of the French. Henry then pursued his march to Calais, and returned to England.

6. In 1416, the duke of Bedford relieved Harfleur, besieged by the French and Genoese; and the following year Henry entered Normandy, and after the capture of Rouen (1419) pressed on to Paris.

7. Peace was made by the treaty of Troyes (1420). Henry married Princess Catherine of France, and is declared Regent of the kingdom and the successor of Charles VI.; but in the height of his glory, and the early prime of life, this chivalrous king died at Vincennes. Had he lived two months longer he would have been king of the united countries of France and England.

8. In 1417, the Scotch, under the duke of Albany and earl Douglas, invaded England. This inroad is known as the "Foul Raid." A body of Scotch in the pay of the Armagnac faction rendered considerable assistance to the French in their wars with Henry, V.

#### THE MASSACRE OF THE PRISONERS AFTER AGINCOURT.

*[Of late years some writers have attempted to cast a slur on the reputation of Henry V. by asserting that after the fighting was over he ordered unnecessarily a massacre of the prisoners taken in the battle of Agincourt. The following, from the pen of the Rev. J. E. Tyler, is not only valuable as a defence of Henry's character, but also as an example of dispassionate inquiry and argument.]*

The name of Henry of Monmouth is inseparable from the battle of Agincourt; and immeasurably better had it been for his fair fame had himself and his little army been crushed in that tremendous struggle by the overwhelming chivalry of France, than that he should have stained that day of conquest and glory by an act of cruelty or vengeance. If any cause, except palpable and inevitable necessity, could be proved to have suggested the dreadful mandate for his soldiers to put their prisoners to the sword, his memory must be branded by a stigma which no personal courage, nor a life devoted to the deeds of arms, nor any unprecedented career of conquest could obliterate. The charge of cruelty, however, like some other accusations, is of comparatively recent origin, and our duty is to ascertain the facts from the best evidence, and dispassionately to draw our inference from those facts, after an upright scrutiny and a patient weighing of the whole question in all its bearings. Our abhorrence of the crime may well make us hesitate before we pronounce judgment against one to whose mercy and chivalrous honour his contemporaries bore willing and abundant testimony; the enormity of so dreadful an example compels us, in the name of humanity and justice, not to screen the guilty. We may be wisely jealous of the bias and prejudice which his brilliant talents, and his life of patriotism and glory, may unconsciously communicate to our minds;

we must be also upon our guard lest an excessive resolution to do justice foster imperceptibly a morbid acquiescence in the condemnation of the accused.

The facts, then, as they are gleaned from those authors who wrote nearest to the time (two of whom are French, the other English, were actually themselves present on the field of battle, and were eye-witnesses of some portion at least of the circumstances which they narrate), seem to have been these in their order and character.

At the close of one of the most desperate struggles ever recorded in the annals of ancient or modern warfare, whilst the enemy were in the act of quitting the field, but had not left it, the English were employing what remained of their well-nigh exhausted strength in guarding their prisoners and separating the living from the dead, who lay upon each other, heaps upon heaps, in one confused and indiscriminate mass. On a sudden a shout was raised, and reached Henry, that a fresh reinforcement of the enemy, in overwhelming numbers, had attacked the baggage, and were advancing in battle array against him. He was himself just released from the furious conflict in which, at the close of his almost unparalleled personal exertion, he engaged with the duke of Alencon and slew him on the spot. Precisely also, at this juncture, the main body of the French who had been engaged in the battle, and were apparently retreating, were seen to be collecting in great numbers, and forming themselves into bodies throughout the plain, with the purpose, as it appeared, of returning to the engagement.

To delay might have been the total sacrifice of himself and his gallant little band ; to hesitate might have been death. Henry instantly, without a moment's interval, by sound of trumpet ordered his men to form themselves, and attack the body who were advancing upon his rear, and to put the prisoners to death, "lest they should rush upon his men during the fight." These mandates were obeyed. The French reinforcement, advancing from the quarter where the baggage was stationed, no sooner felt a shower of arrows, and saw a body of men ready to give them battle, than they turned to flight ; and instantly

Henry, on seeing them run, stopped the slaughter of the prisoners, and made it known to all that he had had recourse to the measure only in self-defence. Henry, in order to prevent the recurrence of such a dreadful catastrophe, sent forth a herald to those companies of the enemy who were still lingering very suspiciously through the field, and charged them either to come to battle at once or withdraw from his sight ; adding that should they array themselves afterwards to renew the battle, he would show no mercy, nor spare either fighting-men or prisoners.

Of the general accuracy of this statement of the facts little doubt can be entertained, though, in the midst of the confusion of such a battle-field, it would not be matter of surprise were some of the circumstances mistaken or exaggerated. In reflecting on this course of incidents, the thought forces itself upon our mind that the mandate was given not in cool blood, nor when there was time and opportunity for deliberation, and for calculating upon the means and chances of safety, but upon the instant ; on a sudden unexpected renewal of the engagement from a quarter from which no danger was anticipated ; at a moment, too, when just after the heat of the battle was passing over, the routed enemy were collecting again in great numbers in various parts of the field, with a view evidently of returning to the charge and crushing their conquerors ; at a moment, too, when the English were scattered about, separating the living from the dead, and all was yet confusion and uncertainty. Another fact, as clearly recorded as the original issuing of the mandate, is, that no sooner was the danger of the immediate and inevitable sacrifice of the lives of his men removed by the retreat of the assailants, than, without waiting for the dispersion of those menacing bodies then congregating around him, Henry instantly countermanded the order, and saved the remainder of the prisoners. The bare facts of the case, from first to last, admit of no other alternative than for our judgment to pronounce it to have been altogether an imperative and inevitable act of self-preservation, without the sacrifice of any life beyond the absolute and indispensable necessity of the case.

But, perhaps, the most striking and conclusive testimony in vindication of Henry's character on that day of slaughter and victory is borne both by the silence and also by the expressed testimony of contemporary historians. This evidence deserves to be put more prominently forward than it has ever been. Indeed, as long as there was no charge of cruelty or unnecessary violence brought against his name in this particular, there was little need of alleging any evidence in his defence. It remained for modern writers, after a lapse of centuries, to stigmatise the command as an act of barbarity, and to represent it as having tarnished and stained the victory of him who gave it. It is, however, a most remarkable and satisfactory circumstance that, of the contemporary historians, and those who followed most closely upon them, who have detailed the proceedings with more or less minuteness, and with a great variety though no inconsistency of circumstances, in whose views, moreover, all subsequent writers, with few exceptions, have unreservedly acquiesced, not one single individual is found to cast the slightest imputation on Henry for injustice or cruelty ; while some, in their account of the battle, have not made the most distant allusion to the circumstance. All the earlier writers who refer to it appear with one consent to have considered the order as the result of dire and unavoidable necessity on the part of the English king. Not so only ; whilst no one who witnessed the engagement, or lived at the time, ever threw the shadow of reproach or of complaint on Henry or his army ; various writers, especially among the French historians, join in reprobating the unjustifiable conduct of those among the French troops who rendered the massacre inevitable, and cast on their own countrymen the entire responsibility and blame for the whole melancholy affair. Instead of any attempt to sully and tarnish the glory won by the English on that day, by pointing to their cruel and barbarous treatment of unarmed prisoners, they visit their own people with the very strongest terms of malediction, as the sole culpable origin and cause of the evil. And that these were not only the sentiments of the writers themselves, but were participated in by their countrymen at large, is evidenced by the record of a fact



which has been generally overlooked. Those who were deemed guilty of thus exposing their countrymen to death, by unjustifiably renewing the attack when the conflict was acknowledged to be over, and after the French soldiery had given up the field, not only were exposed to disgrace in their characters, but suffered punishment also for the offence in their persons. Anticipating censure and severe handling as the consequences of their misconduct, they made valuable presents to such as they thought able to screen them ; but so decided was the indignation and resentment of their countrymen, that the leaders of the offending parties were cast into prison and suffered a long confinement, as the punishment for their misconduct on that day.

The inference, then, which the facts as they are delivered by French and English writers compel us to draw, coincides with the professed sentiments of all contemporaries. Those on the one hand who shared the glory and were proud of the day of Agincourt, and those, on the other, whose national pride and wounded honour, and participation in the calamities poured that day upon the noblest families of France, and in the mourning spread far and wide throughout the land, caused them to abhor the name of Agincourt, all sanction our adoption of that one inference : Henry did not stain his victory by any act of cruelty. His character comes out of the investigation untarnished by a suspicion of his having wantonly shed the blood of a single fellow-creature.

### III.—HENRY VI., 1422—1461.

#### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Henry VI. was born at Windsor, December 6, 1421, and crowned at Westminster, November 6, 1429. He was murdered in the Tower in the forty-ninth year of his age, May 23, 1471, having been deposed in the thirty-ninth year of his reign (1461). He was buried at Chertsey, but his remains were subsequently removed to Windsor.

2. He married Margaret of Anjou, by whom he had one son, murdered after the battle of Tewkesbury (1471) by the duke of Clarence.

3. After the death of Henry V., the duke of Gloucester was made regent of England, and the duke of Bedford the regent of France; and Henry VI. was proclaimed king of France on the death of his natural grandfather, Charles VI.

4. The dauphin of France, under the title of Charles VII., asserted his claim to the throne. The Scotch adventurers flocked to his standard, but the English took many towns and castles, and were victorious in the battles of Crevant (1423) and Verneuil (1424).

5. Dissensions arising in England, Bedford was obliged to quit his post in France for some months. Shortly after his return the English laid siege to Orleans (1428).

6. At this time Jeanne Darc, commonly but erroneously called Joan of Arc, a peasant girl of Domremy in Champagne, imagined that she was commissioned from above to relieve France, and place Charles VII. on the throne of his ancestors.

7. After relieving Orleans and defeating the English at Patay, she entered Rheims with Charles; and there Charles was crowned in the cathedral (1429). She there wished to retire to Domremy, but remained with the troops at the solicitation of the king. While heading a sortie from Compiègne, which was besieged by the Burgundians, she fell into their hands (1430), and was by them delivered up to the English. Condemned as a witch by her own countrymen, she was burned at the stake at Rouen in 1431.

8. In 1434, the duke of Bedford died at Rouen, and the duke of York was appointed regent of France. The English suffered many reverses, and Dunois took Rouen in 1449. In a few years nothing remained to them but Calais.

9. The duke of York, who had done good service in France and Ireland, openly pretended to the crown, and it was thought that he secretly abetted the insurrection of Jack Cade (1451). The people were inclined to favour his claim, disliking the queen and the faction with which Henry was surrounded.

10. The duke of York having returned from France, and the king being deranged in mind, the former is appointed Protector; and Somerset, the great protector of the court party, on whom rested the odium of the loss of the provinces acquired by Henry V. in France, is imprisoned. Henry, however, suddenly recovered his faculties, and ordered him to be released.

11. York now broke into open rebellion, and the Wars of the Roses commenced. At the battle of St. Albans (May 22, 1454), the king was taken prisoner and Somerset slain.

12. A hollow peace was made between the Yorkists and Lancastrians, to be broken in 1459. The battle of Bloreheath (September 23, 1459) was adverse to the duke of York, and he retreated to Ireland, but took the field again in the following year.

13. The landing of Warwick and Edward of York, the duke's son, was followed by the battle of Northampton (July 10, 1460). In this battle Henry was again taken prisoner, and York claimed the crown; but the Lancastrians, rallying round Queen Margaret, defeated the Yorkists at the battle of Wakefield (December 31, 1460), in which the duke of York was killed.

14. Edward, now duke of York, prosecuted his father's claim. He gained the battle of Mortimer's Cross, near Hereford (February 1, 1461), and entered London at the end of the month, though Margaret had been victorious over Warwick in the battles of Barnet and St. Albans (February 17, 1461).

15. He was proclaimed and crowned after the battle of Towton (March 28, 1461), in which the Lancastrians were totally routed, and the king, queen, and prince of Wales obliged to take refuge in Scotland.

16. Edward's right to the crown as Edward IV. was formally acknowledged by Parliament, and the actual reign of Henry VI. closed with his deposition.

### THE INSURRECTION OF JACK CADE.

[Adapted from "*The Concordance of Stories*," a general account of English History, written by Robert Fabian, alderman and sheriff of London, who died in 1512.]

In the month of June, 1450, the commons of Kent assembled in great multitude, and chose a captain, and named him Mortimer, and cousin to the duke of York; but of most he was named Jack Cade. This kept the people wondrously together; and he made such ordinances among them that he brought a great number of them together to the Black Heath, where he devised a bill of petitions to the king and his council, and showed therein what injuries and oppressions the poor commons suffered by such as were about the king, a few persons in number, and all under colour of being done by the king's authority. The king's council seeing this bill disallowed it, and counselled the king, who by the seventh day of June had

gathered round him a strong host of people, to go against the rebels, and give them battle. Then the king, after the said rebels had held their field upon Black Heath seven days, made towards them. Whereof hearing, the captain drew back with his people to a village called Sevenoaks, and there arranged his followers in order of battle.

Then it was agreed by the king's council, that Sir Humphrey Stafford, knight, with William, his brother, and certain other gentlemen, should follow the chase, and the king with his lords should return to Greenwich, thinking that the rebels were fled and gone. But when Sir Humphrey with his company drew near unto Sevenoaks, he was warned of the captain that there abode with his people. And when he had counselled with the other gentlemen, he, like a manful knight, set upon the rebels and fought with them long ; but in the end the captain slew him and his brother, with many others, and caused the rest to fall back. All which season the king's host lay still upon Black Heath, there being among them sundry opinions, so that some and many of them favoured the captain. But, finally, when word came of the overthrow of the Staffords, they said plainly and boldly, that except the lord Saye and others were committed to ward, they would take the captain's party. For the appeasing of which rumour the lord Saye was put into the Tower. Then the king having knowledge of the discomfiture of his men, and also of the rumour of the disaffection that was showing itself among his hooting people, removed from Greenwich to London, and there with his host rested himself awhile.

And as soon as Jack Cade had thus overcome the Staffords, he forthwith apparelled himself with the knight's apparel, and put on his brigganders set with gilt nails, and his salet, and gilt spurs ; and after he had refreshed his people he returned again to Black Heath, and there again pitched his camp, as he had heretofore done, and lay there from the twenty-ninth day of June, being St. Peter's day, till the first day of July : in which season came unto him the archbishop of Canterbury and the duke of Buckingham, with whom he had long communication ; but they found him right discreet in his answers ; howbeit they could not

persuade him to dismiss his people and to submit himself to the king's grace.

In this while, the king and queen hearing of the increasing of the rebels, and the lords also fearing their own servants, lest they should take the captain's part, removed from London to Killingworth, leaving the city without aid, except only the lord Scales, which was left to keep the Tower, and with him a manly and warlike man named Matthew Gowth. Then the captain of Kent, who remained still at Black Heath, to the end to blind the people the more, and to bring him in fame that he kept good justice, beheaded there a petty captain of his, named Paris, because he had offended against some orders that he had enjoined for the regulation of his host. And hearing that the king and all his lords had thus departed, he drew nearer to the city, so that upon the first day of July he entered the burgh of Southwark, being then Wednesday, and lodged there that night, for he was not suffered to enter into the city.

And upon the same day the commons of Essex, in great numbers, pitched a camp upon the plain at Mile End. Upon the second day of the said month the mayor called a common council at Guildhall, to take measures for the withstanding of these rebels, and other matters ; but there were divers opinions among those assembled, so that some thought good that the said rebels should be received into the city, and some otherwise, among which Robert Horne, stock fishmonger, then being an alderman, spoke sore against them that would have them enter. For which sayings the commons were so moved against him that they ceased not till they had him committed to ward.

And the same afternoon, about five of the clock, the captain with his people entered by the bridge ; and when he came upon the drawbridge he hewed the ropes that drew the bridge in sunder with his sword, and so passed into the city, and in sundry places thereof made proclamations in the king's name, that no man, upon pain of death, should rob or take anything by force without paying for it ; by reason whereof he won many hearts of the commons of the city, but all was done to beguile the people, as after

shall evidently appear. He rode through divers streets of the city; and as he came by London Stone he struck it with his sword and said, "Now is Mortimer lord of this city." And when he had thus showed himself in divers places of the city, and showed his mind to the mayor for the ordering of his people, he returned into Southwark and there abode, as he before had done, his people coming and going at lawful hours as they would. Then upon the morn, being the third day of July, and Friday, the said captain entered the city again and caused the lord Saye to be fetched from the Tower and led into the Guildhall, where he was arraigned before the mayor and other of the king's justices. In which pastime he intended to have brought before the said justices the aforesaid Robert Horne; but his wife and friends besought him so incessantly for his release, that finally, for five hundred marks, he was set at liberty. Then the lord Saye, being, as it has been before said, at Guildhall, desired that he might be judged by his peers; whereof hearing, the captain sent a company of his unto the hall, who by force took him from the officers and then brought him unto the standard in Cheap, where, before he was half shaven, they struck off his head, and that done put it upon a long pole, and so bore it about with them.

At this time and season the captain had caused a gentleman to be taken named William Crowmer, which had previously been sheriff of Kent, and had been guilty, as they said, of extortion. For which cause, or because he was a supporter of the lord Saye, because he had married his daughter, he was hurried to Mile End and there beheaded in the captain's presence. And at the same time there was also beheaded another man called Baillie, the cause of whose death was this, as I have heard some men report: This Baillie was a familiar and old acquaintance of Jack Cade; wherefore so soon as he espied him coming towards him, he cast in his mind that Baillie would discover his living and old manners, and show off his vile kin and lineage. Wherefore knowing that the said Baillie used to carry rolls of paper about with him and pretend to utter prophecies, he told his company that the poor man was an enchanter and of an ill disposition, and that they should

well know this by such books as he bare upon him. Then he bade them search him, and if they found as he said, then they should put him to death; all which was done according to his commandment.

When they had thus beheaded these two men they took the head of Crowmer and put it upon a pole, and so entered the city again with the heads of lord Saye and of Crowmer; and as they passed the streets they joined the poles together, and caused either dead mouth to kiss the other diverse and many times.

And the captain, the self-same day, went unto the house of Philip Malpas, draper and alderman, and robbed and spoiled his house, and took thence a great part of his goods; but he had been warned of his coming beforehand, and so had time to convey away much of his plate and money, or else he had been undone. At which spoiling were present many poor men of the city, which, at such times, have ever been ready in all places to do harm whenever such riots have taken place.

Then towards night he returned into Southwark, and in the morning re-entered the city, and dined that day in a place in St. Margaret Patyn parish, called Gherstis House; and when he had dined, like an uncourteous guest he robbed his host, as he had robbed Malpas the day before: for which two robberies, albeit that the poorer and more needy people drew unto him and were partners in his ill deeds, the honest and thrifty commoners cast in their minds the sequel of this matter, and feared lest they should be dealt with in like manner, by means whereof he lost the people's favour and hearts. For it was to be thought that if he had not executed that robbery he might have gone fair and brought his purpose to good effect if he had intended well; but it is fair to suppose that his intention was not good, wherefore it might not come to any good conclusion. Then the mayor and aldermen, with the assistance of the worshipful commoners, seeing this misdemeanour of the captain, in keeping safeguard of themselves and of the city, took counsel how they might drive the captain and his adherents out of the place, wherein their fear was the more, inasmuch as the king and his lords,

with all their forces, was far from them. But yet in order to avoid apparent peril, they determined to withstand any further coming on his part into the city. For the performance thereof the mayor sent unto the lord Scales and Matthew Gowth, who then had the Tower in their keeping, and obtained their consent to the carrying out of that which they contemplated.

Then, upon the 5th day of July, the captain, being in Southwark, caused a man to be beheaded for having done something to displease him, as the story went ; and so he kept himself in Southwark all that day, though he might have entered the city if he pleased.

And when night was coming the mayor and citizens, with Matthew Gowth, according to the arrangement which had been made, kept the passage of the bridge, being Sunday, and offered opposition to the Kentishmen, who sought to enter the city in great numbers. Then the captain, seeing this bickering begun, put on his harness and called his people about him, and set so fiercely on the citizens, that he drove them back from the bridge foot in Southwark as far as the drawbridge. Then the men of Kent set fire to the drawbridge, and in defending it many a man was drowned and slain, among which, of men of name, were John Sutton, alderman, Matthew Gowth, gentleman, and Roger Heysand, citizen. And thus continued this skirmish all night, until nine o'clock in the morning, so that sometimes the citizens had the advantage, and sometimes the Kentishmen, but both sides always maintained a footing upon the bridge, so that the citizens never got much beyond the bulwark at the bridge foot, nor the Kentishmen much further than the drawbridge. Having thus continued this cruel fight to the destruction of much people on both sides until the time stated, when the Kentishmen were getting the worst of it, a truce was agreed for certain hours, during which truce the archbishop of Canterbury, then chancellor of England, sent the captain a general pardon for himself, and another for his people, by reason whereof he and his company departed the same night out of Southwark, and so returned every man to his own.



But it was not long after that the captain and his company had thus departed, that proclamations were made in divers places of Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, that whoever might take the aforesaid Jack Cade, either alive or dead, should have a thousand marks for his trouble. After which proclamation was thus published, a gentleman of Kent, named Alexander Iden, awaited so his time that he took him in a garden, in Sussex; but in attempting to capture him the said Jack was slain, and so, being dead, was brought into Southwark on a day in the month of September, and then left in the King's Bench that night; and on the morrow the corpse was drawn through the chief streets of the city unto Newgate, and there beheaded and quartered, his head being sent to London Bridge, while his four quarters were sent to four different towns of Kent.

And this done the king sent commissions into Kent, and rode thither himself, and caused inquiry to be made of this riot in Canterbury; wherefore eight men were judged and put to death in the same city, and in other good towns of Kent and Sussex divers others were tried and executed for the same riot.

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## PART VIII.—THE HOUSE OF YORK, 1461—1485.

*(Plantagenet Dynasty continued.)*

I.—EDWARD IV., 1461—1483.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Edward IV. (descended through his grandmother from Lionel, duke of Clarence, the third son of Edward III., and through his grandfather from Edmund, duke of York, the fifth son of that monarch) was born at Rouen, April 29th, 1441. He was crowned at Westminster, June 29th, 1461, and died at Westminster, April 9th, 1483, in the forty-second year of his age and the twenty-third of his reign, and was buried at Windsor.

2. He married Elizabeth Gray, by whom he had three sons and seven daughters.

3. In 1464, a few gleams of success shone on the Lancastrians, whom Queen Margaret had again rallied, to make another effort

to regain the crown for her husband. They were soon defeated by Edward in the battles of Hedgeley Moor (April 25, 1464) and Hexham (May 15, 1464).

4. Margaret retired to Flanders, and Henry, after eluding the pursuit of his enemies for a twelvemonth, was taken prisoner and lodged in the Tower. All hope seemed then to have deserted the Lancastrians ; but Edward offended Warwick, and ill-requited the important services he had rendered him in obtaining the crown. Warwick, therefore, declared against Edward, and, in conjunction with other nobles, imprisoned the king in Middleham Castle (1469).

5. Edward was allowed to return to London soon afterwards, and defeated the partisans of Warwick in the battle of Erpingham (March 12, 1470). Warwick and the duke of Clarence, a brother of the king, who had married one of Warwick's daughters, retreated to Calais, in France.

6. The pair set various intrigues on foot for the restoration of Henry, and, returning to England, entered London in triumph, in 1470, Edward making his escape to the Hague. But Henry was soon to return to his prison ; for, having procured the assistance of some Burgundian troops, Edward landed at Ravenspur in the following year, and, summoning his partisans, defeats and kills Warwick in the second battle of Barnet (April 30, 1471).

7. On his return Clarence had deserted his father-in-law, the earl of Warwick, and taken part with his brother. He brutally murdered the son of Henry, who had landed with his mother in England, and had been taken prisoner soon after at the battle of Tewkesbury (May 4, 1471), which proved a final and fatal blow to the Lancastrian cause.

8. A few days after the battle of Tewkesbury, Henry was found dead in the Tower, murdered, it is believed, by Richard, duke of Gloucester, the king's brother. The remaining years of Edward's reign were not marked by proceedings of any moment. He invaded France (1475), but withdrew his troops after concluding a treaty of peace with Louis XI.

9. In 1478, Clarence was put to death in the Tower. He had endeavoured to gain the hand of Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold, afterwards married to Maximilian, emperor of Germany. This had roused Edward's jealousy : he and Gloucester had thwarted the match, and in consequence of Clarence's violent expressions against them on account of his disappointment, they took an early opportunity of destroying him on a charge of treason.

10. In 1485, Edward died, having shortened his days by a life of dissipation and excess, leaving the crown to his little son Edward, under the management of his uncle, Richard of Gloucester.

### THE DEATH OF THE DUKE OF CLARENCE.

[Taken from *Shakespeare's Historical Play of Richard III.*  
Act 1. Scene 4.]

#### SCENE IV.—LONDON. A ROOM IN THE TOWER.

*Enter CLARENCE and BRAKENBURY.*

*Brak.* Why looks your grace so heavily to-day ?

*Clar.* O, I have passed a miserable night,  
So full of fearful dreams, of ugly sights,  
That, as I am a Christian faithful man,  
I would not spend another such a night,  
Though 'twere to buy a world of happy days,—  
So full of dismal terror was the time !

*Brak.* What was your dream, my lord ? I pray you,  
tell me.

*Clar.* Methought that I had broken from the Tower,  
And was embarked to cross to Burgundy ;  
And, in my company, my brother Gloucester ;  
Who from my cabin tempted me to walk  
Upon the hatches : thence we looked toward England,  
And cited up a thousand heavy times,  
During the wars of York and Lancaster,  
That had befallen us. As we paced along  
Upon the giddy footing of the hatches,  
Methought that Gloucester stumbled ; and, in falling,  
Struck me, that thought to stay him, overboard,  
Into the tumbling billows of the main.  
O Lord ! methought what pain it was to drown !  
What dreadful noise of water in mine ears !  
What sights of ugly death within mine eyes !  
Methought I saw a thousand fearful wrecks ;  
A thousand men that fishes gnawed upon ;  
Wedges of gold, great anchors, heaps of pearl,  
Inestimable stones, unvalued jewels,  
All scatter'd in the bottom of the sea :

Some lay in dead men's skulls ; and in those holes  
Where eyes did once inhabit, there were crept  
(As 'twere in scorn of eyes) reflecting gems,  
That wooed the slimy bottom of the deep,  
And mocked the dead bones that lay scattered by.

*Brak.* Had you such leisure in the time of death,  
To gaze upon these secrets of the deep ?

*Clar.* Methought I had ; and often did I strive  
To yield the ghost : but still the envious flood  
Stopt in my soul, and would not let it forth  
To find the empty, vast, and wandering air ;  
But smothered it within my panting bulk,  
Which almost burst to belch it in the sea.

*Brak.* Awaked you not with this sore agony ?

*Clar.* No, no ; my dream was lengthened after life ;  
O, then began the tempest to my soul !  
I passed methought, the melancholy flood,  
With that grim ferryman which poets write of,  
Unto the kingdom of perpetual night.  
The first that there did greet my stranger soul,  
Was my great father-in-law, renowned Warwick ;  
Who cried aloud, " What scourge for perjury  
Can this dark monarchy afford false Clarence ? "  
And so he vanish'd : then came wandering by  
A shadow like an angel, with bright hair  
Dabbled in blood : and he shrieked out aloud,  
" Clarence is come,—false, fleeting, perjured Clarence,—  
That stabbed me in the field by Tewkesbury ;—  
Seize on him, Furies ! take him to your torments ! "  
With that, methought, a legion of foul fiends  
Environed me, and howled in mine ears  
Such hideous cries, that, with the very noise,  
I trembling waked, and, for a season after,  
Could not believe but that I was in hell,—  
Such terrible impression made my dream.

*Brak.* No marvel, lord, that it affrighted you ;  
I am afraid, methinks, to hear you tell it.

*Clar.* O Brakenbury, I have done these things,  
That now give evidence against my soul,  
For Edward's sake ; and see how he requites me !—

O God ! if my deep prayers cannot appease thee,  
 But thou wilt be avenged on my misdeeds,  
 Yet execute thy wrath on me alone :  
 O, spare my guiltless wife and my poor children !—  
 I pray thee, gentle keeper, stay by me ;  
 My soul is heavy, and I fain would sleep.

*Brak.* I will, my lord : God give your grace good rest.

[CLARENCE sleeps.]

Sorrow breaks seasons and reposing hours,  
 Makes the night morning, and the noon-tide night.  
 Princes have but their titles for their glories,  
 An outward honour for an inward toil ;  
 And, for unfelt imaginations,  
 They often feel a world of restless cares :  
 So that, between their titles, and low name,  
 There's nothing differs but the outward fame.

*Enter the two Murderers.*

*1st Murd.* Ho ! who's here ?

*Brak.* What would'st thou, fellow ? and how camest thou hither ?

*1st Murd.* I would speak with Clarence, and I came hither on my legs.

*Brak.* What, so brief ?

*2nd Murd.* 'Tis better, sir, than to be tedious.  
 Let him see our commission ; and talk no more.

*A paper is delivered to BRAKENBURY, who reads it.*

*Brak.* I am, in this, commanded to deliver  
 The noble duke of Clarence to your hands.  
 I will not reason what is meant hereby,  
 Because I will be guiltless of the meaning.  
 There lies the duke asleep,—and there the keys :  
 I'll to the king ; and signify to him  
 That thus I have resigned to you my charge.

*1st Murd.* You may, sir ; 'tis a point of wisdom :  
 Fare you well.

[Exit BRAKENBURY.]

*Clar.* [Waking.] Where art thou, keeper ? give me a cup of wine.

*1st Murd.* You shall have wine enough, my lord anon.

*Clar.* In God's name, what art thou?  
How darkly, and how deadly dost thou speak!  
Your eyes do menace me : why look you pale?  
Who sent you hither? Wherefore do you come?

*Both Murd.* To, to, to—

*Clar.* To murder me?

*Both Murd.* Ay, ay.

*Clar.* You scarcely have the hearts to tell me so,  
And therefore cannot have the hearts to do it.  
Wherein, my friends, have I offended you?

*1st Murd.* Offended us you have not, but the king.

*Clar.* I shall be reconciled to him again.

*2nd Murd.* Never, my lord ; therefore prepare to die.

*Clar.* Are you drawn forth among a world of men  
To slay the innocent? What is my offence?  
Where is the evidence that doth accuse me?  
What lawful quest have given their verdict up  
Unto the frowning judge? or who pronounced  
The bitter sentence of poor Clarence's death?  
Before I be convict by course of law,  
To threaten me with death is most unlawful.  
I charge you, as you hope to have redemption  
By Christ's dear blood shed for our grievous sins,  
That you depart, and lay no hands on me :  
The deed you undertake is damnable.

*1st Murd.* What we will do, we do upon command.

*2nd Murd.* And he, that hath commanded, is our king.

*Clar.* Erroneous vassals ! the great King of kings  
Hath in the table of his law commanded,  
That thou shalt do no murder : will you, then,  
Spurn at his edict, and fulfil a man's?  
Take heed ; for he holds vengeance in his hand,  
To hurl upon their heads that break his law.

*2nd Murd.* And that same vengeance doth he hurl on thee,  
For false forswearing, and for murder too :  
Thou didst receive the sacrament to fight  
In quarrel of the house of Lancaster.

*1st Murd.* And, like a traitor to the name of God,  
Didst break that vow ; and, with thy treacherous blade,  
Unripp'dst the bowels of thy sovereign's son.

*2nd Murd.* Whom thou wast sworn to cherish and defend.

*1st Murd.* How canst thou urge God's dreadful law to us,  
When thou hast broke it in such dear degree ?

*Clar.* Alas ! for whose sake did I that ill deed ?  
For Edward, for my brother, for his sake :  
He sends you not to murder me for this ;  
For in that sin he is as deep as I.  
If God will be avengéd for the deed,  
O, know you yet, he doth it publicly :  
Take not the quarrel from his powerful arm ;  
It needs no indirect or lawless course,  
To cut off those that have offended him.

*1st Murd.* Who made thee, then, a bloody minister,  
When gallant-springing brave Plantagenet,  
That princely novice, was struck dead by thee ?

*Clar.* My brother's love, the devil, and my rage.

*1st Murd.* Thy brother's love, our duty, and thy faults,  
Provoke us hither now to slaughter thee.

*Clar.* If you do love my brother, hate not me ;  
I am his brother, and I love him well.  
If you are hired for meed, go back again,  
And I will send you to my brother Gloucester ;  
Who shall reward you better for my life,  
Than Edward will for tidings of my death.

*2nd Murd.* You are deceived, your brother Gloucester  
hates you.

*Clar.* O, no, he loves me, and he holds me dear.  
Go you to him from me.

*Both Murd.* Ay, so we will.

*Clar.* Tell him, when that our princely father York  
Blessed his three sons with his victorious arm,  
And charg'd us from his soul to love each other,  
He little thought of this divided friendship :  
Bid Gloucester think on this, and he will weep.

*1st Murd.* Ay, mill-stones ; as he lessoned us to weep.

*Clar.* O, do not slander him, for he is kind.

*1st Murd.* Right, as snow in harvest.—Come, you deceive  
yourself :

'Tis he that sends us to destroy you here.

*Clar.* It cannot be ; for he bewept my fortune,

And hugged me in his arms, and swore, with sobs,  
That he would labour my delivery.

*1st Murd.* Why, so he doth, when he delivers you  
From this earth's thralldom to the joys of heaven.

*2nd Murd.* Make peace with God, for you must die, my  
lord.

*Clar.* Have you that holy feeling in your souls,  
To counsel me to make my peace with God,  
And are you yet to your own souls so blind,  
That you will war with God by murdering me ?—  
O, sirs, consider they that set you on  
To do this deed will hate you for the deed.

*2nd Murd.* What shall we do ?

*Clar.* Relent, and save your souls.

*1st Murd.* Relent ! 'tis cowardly, and womanish.

*Clar.* Not to relent is beastly, savage, devilish.—  
Which of you, if you were a prince's son,  
Being pent from liberty, as I am now,—  
If two such murderers as yourselves came to you,  
Would not entreat for life ?—

My friend, I spy some pity in thy looks ;  
O, if thine eye be not a flatterer,  
Come thou on my side, and entreat for me,  
As you would beg, were you in my distress :  
A begging prince what beggar pities not ?

*2nd Murd.* Look behind you, my lord.

*1st Murd.* [*Stabs him.*] Take that, and that : if all this  
will not do,  
I'll drown you in the malmsey-butt within.

[*Exit, with the body.*]

## II.—EDWARD V., 1483.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Edward V., who was never crowned, reigned nominally for about three months. He was born at Westminster, November 4, 1470, and is said to have been murdered in the Tower, in August, 1483, in the thirteenth year of his age and the first of his reign. It is believed that his brother, the duke of York, perished with him.



2. Richard, duke of Gloucester, returned from Scotland immediately after the death of his brother, Edward IV., and commenced a slaughter of the principal adherents of his brother's family and the relatives of the queen.

3. Shortly after his appointment as Protector he caused Lord Hastings to be beheaded, on a charge of treason against him. The duke of Buckingham then persuaded the citizens of London to offer the crown to Richard, who accepted it with pretended reluctance, having secured the persons of Edward V. and the duke of York in the Tower.

### HOW LORD HASTINGS WAS PUT TO DEATH.

[*From the "Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York," &c., by Edmund Hall. See page 148.*]

The Lord Protector caused a council to be set at the Tower on Friday the thirteenth day of June, where there was much communing for the honourable solemnity of the coronation, of the which the time appointed approached so near, that pageants were being made day and night at Westminster, and victual killed, which afterwards was thrown away.

The lords thus sitting, communing of this matter, the Protector came in among them about nine o'clock, saluting them courteously, excusing himself that he had been from them so long, saying, merrily, that he had been a sleeper that day. And after a little talking with them he said to the bishop of Ely, "My lord, you have very good strawberries in your garden at Holborn; I require you let us have a mess of them." "Gladly, my lord," quoth he. "I would I had some better thing as ready to your pleasure as that;" and with that in all haste he sent his servant for a dish of strawberries. The Protector set the lords fast in communing, and thereupon prayed them to spare him a little; and so he departed, and came again between ten and eleven o'clock into the chamber, all changed, with a sour, angry countenance, knitting his brows, frowning and fretting, and gnawing his lips, and so sat himself down in his place. All the lords were dismayed, and sore marvelled of this manner and sudden change, and what things should ail him. When he had

sat awhile he thus began : "What were they worthy to have that compass and imagine the destruction of me, being so near of blood to the king and protector of this his royal realm?" At which question all the lords sat sore astonished, musing much of whom the question should be meant, of which every man knew himself clear.

Then the lord Hastings, as he that, for the familiarity that was between them, thought he might be boldest with him, answered and said that they were worthy to be punished as heinous traitors whatsoever they were, and all the others affirmed the same. "That is," quoth he, "yonder sorceress, my brother's wife, and others with her," meaning the queen. Many of the lords were sore abashed which favoured her; but the lord Hastings was better content in his mind that it was moved by her than by any other that he loved better. Howbeit, his heart grudged that he was not before made counsel of this matter, as well as he was of the taking of her kindred, and of their being put to death, which were by his assent previously to this appointed to be beheaded at Pomfret this self-same day, in the which he was not aware that it was determined by another that he himself should the same day be beheaded in London. "Then," said the Protector, "see in what wise that sorceress and others of her counsel, as Shore's wife, with her affinity, have by their sorcery and witchcraft thus wasted my body;" and therewith he plucked up his doublet sleeve to the elbow of his left arm, where he showed a very withered arm and small, as it always had been. And therefore every man's mind misgave them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrel; for well they knew that the queen was both too wise to go about any such folly, and also if she would, yet would she of all folk make Shore's wife least of her counsel, whom of all women she most hated, as that concubine whom the king her husband most loved.

Also there was no man there but knew that his arm was ever such since the day of his birth. Nevertheless, the lord Hastings, which from the death of King Edward maintained an intimate acquaintance with Shore's wife, on whom he somewhat doted in the king's life, somewhat

grudged in his heart to have her whom he loved so highly accused, and that, as he knew well, untruly; therefore he answered and said, "Certainly, my lord, if they have so done they be worthy of heinous punishment." "What!" quoth the Protector, "thou servest me I ween with *if* and with *and*; I tell thee they have done it, and that I will make good on thy body, traitor!" And therewith, as if in a great anger, he clapped a great rap on the board with his fist, at which token given one cried "Treason" without the chamber, and therewith a door clapped and men in harness came rushing in, as many as the chamber could hold.

And immediately the Protector said to the lord Hastings, "I arrest thee, traitor." "What me, my lord?" quoth he. "Yea, traitor," quoth the Protector. And one let fly at the lord Stanley, which shrunk at the stroke and fell under the table, or else his head had been cleft to the teeth, for as shortly as he shrunk yet ran the blood about his ears. Then was the archbishop of York and Dr. Morton, bishop of Ely, and the lord Stanley taken, and divers others, which were bestowed in divers chambers, save the lord Hastings, whom the Protector commanded to take with speed and shrive him apace. "For by St. Paul," quoth he, "I will not dine till I see thy head off." It booted him not to ask why; but heavily he took a priest at a venture and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered, the Protector made so much haste to get to his dinner, and might not go to it till this murder was done for saving of his ungracious oath. So was he brought forth into the green, beside the chapel within the Tower, and his head laid down on a log of timber that lay there for building of the chapel, and there tyrannously stricken off, and afterwards his body and head were interred at Windsor by the remains of his master, King Edward the Fourth, whose souls Jesu pardon. Amen.

Now flew the fame of this lord's death through the city and farther about, like a wind in every man's ear; but the Protector, immediately after dinner, intending to set some colour on the matter, sent in all haste for many substantial men out of the city into the Tower, and at their coming he

himself, with the duke of Buckingham, stood harnessed in old, evil-favoured briganders, such as no man would think they would have vouchsafed to have put on their backs, except some sudden necessity had constrained them. Then the Lord Protector showed them that the lord Hastings and others of his conspiracy had contrived to have suddenly destroyed him and the duke of Buckingham there the same day in council, and what they intended further was not yet well known ; of whose treason he had no knowledge before ten o'clock the same forenoon, which sudden fear drove them to put on such harness as came next to their hands for their defence, and so thus he required them to report. Every man answered fair, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which, of truth, no man believed.

#### THE MURDER OF EDWARD V. AND THE DUKE OF YORK.

[From the "*Union of the Two Noble and Illustrious Families of Lancaster and York*," by Edmund Hall. See page 148.]

And forasmuch as his mind misgave him that, his nephews living, men would not reckon that he could have right to the realm, he thought therefore, without delay, to rid himself of them, as though the killing of his kinsmen might end his cause, and make him king kindly. Whereupon he sent John Green, whom he specially trusted, to Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, with a letter, and credence also, that the same Sir Robert should in anywise put the two children to death. This John Green did his errand to Brakenbury, kneeling before our lady in the Tower, who plainly answered that he would never put them to death to die for the deed. With this answer Green returned, recounting the same to King Richard at Warwick, who was yet on his journey ; and at Brakenbury's reply he took such displeasure and thought, that the same night he said to a confidential page of his, " Ah ! whom shall a man trust ? Even they that I have brought up myself, they that I thought would have most surely served me, even those fail me, and will do nothing for me at my commandment." " Sir," quoth the page, " there lieth one in the pallet chamber without that I

dare well say the thing were hard which he would refuse to do your grace pleasure;" meaning by this James Tyrrel.

James Tyrrel devised that they should be murdered in their beds, and no blood shed; to the execution whereof he appointed Miles Forrest, one of the four that before kept them, a fellow who had been guilty of murder before time; and to him he joined one John Dighton, his own horsekeeper, a big, broad, square, and strong knave. Then all the others being removed from them, this Miles Forrest and John Dighton about midnight, the poor children lying in their beds, came into their chamber and suddenly lapped them up among the clothes, and so bewrapped and entangled them, keeping down by force the feather bed and pillows hard unto their mouths, that within a while they smothered and stifled them; and, their breath failing, they gave up to God their innocent souls into the joys of heaven, leaving to the tormentors their bodies dead in the bed; which after the wretches perceived, first by the struggling with the pangs of death, and after long lying still, to be thoroughly dead, they laid the bodies out upon the bed, and fetched James Tyrrel to see them; who, when he saw them perfectly dead, caused the murderers to bury them at the stair-foot, at a suitable depth in the ground, under a great heap of stones.

Then rode James Tyrrel in great haste to King Richard, and showed him all the manner of the murder; who gave him great thanks, and, as men say, there made him a knight.

### III.—RICHARD III., 1483—1485.

#### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Richard III. was born at Fotheringay Castle in 1453, and crowned at Westminster, July 6, 1483. He was killed at the battle of Bosworth, August 22, 1485, in the thirty-third year of his age, and the third of his reign, and buried at Leicester. He married Anne Neville, second daughter of the great earl of Warwick, by whom he had one son, who died in infancy.

2. Some of the English nobles who still remained well-affected to the house of Lancaster began an agitation in favour of Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, a descendant of John of Gaunt through his mother, the daughter of John, duke of Somerset.

3. They were joined by the duke of Buckingham, who already began to distrust the king. He headed an insurrection in favour of Richmond, but his troops were dispersed, while he himself was betrayed to Richard and beheaded.

4. Richard now desired to divorce his queen, Anne Neville, and marry his niece, Elizabeth of York; but she was betrothed to Richmond, the nobles desiring by this arrangement to amalgamate the interests of the houses of York and Lancaster, and so put an end to the contests that had so long embroiled the land.

5. Richard saw with rage and fear the nobles making common cause with Richmond, and flocking to his standard in France. Richmond landed at Milford Haven, August 7, 1485; and meeting Richard near Bosworth in Leicestershire defeated his forces (August 22, 1485), Richard himself falling in the battle, fighting with desperation.

#### THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.

*[The following affords a good account of the important battle which brought to a close the duration of the Plantagenet line and established a new dynasty on the throne of England.]*

Richard III. having by his tyranny, cruelty, and oppression made himself odious to the nation, even the Yorkists were incensed against him, while the Lancastrians made every effort they were able towards dethroning him. Their emissaries were sent into all parts of the country, and instructed to excite insurrections in order to divide Richard's troops and distract his attention, while Henry, earl of Richmond, should invade the kingdom, proceed to the capital, and seize the crown. The duke of Buckingham, who was at the head of this scheme, used every art to elude the vigilance of Richard, who suspected some mischief, though he was ignorant of the medium. But the fatigues and necessities Buckingham's adherents underwent soon dispirited them, and, notwithstanding all his remonstrances and entreaties, the desertion was so great that at length he was left with one domestic only. In this forlorn situation he saw no other resource than that of hiding himself until he should be able to take other measures: he therefore retired to the house of one Banister,

who had lived in his service, and owed his all to the bounty of the duke and his father. Richard was no sooner informed of the dispersion of his enemies than he published a proclamation, setting the price of a thousand pounds on the duke's head, and Banister was such an ungrateful wretch as to betray his master and benefactor for the reward. The duke was carried to Shrewsbury, and there beheaded without any form of trial.

The earl of Richmond still continued to think his affairs in England prosperous, notwithstanding this severe check, which rather exasperated than dispirited him; and Richard, on the contrary, thought it would make such an impression upon all his enemies, that none would dare oppose his measures, and with this view he laid up his fleet, which had been equipped to oppose the designs of Richmond, who, seizing this opportunity, embarked his troops at Harfleur, and in six days arrived in Milford Haven. Next day he advanced to Hereford, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants: from hence he dispatched an express for his friends to join him upon his route, and set out for Shrewsbury, where he proposed to pass the Severn. Richard being informed of his landing, ordered Sir Thomas Herbert to assemble the militia of Wales, and stop the progress of the earl, until he should be in a condition to march against him; but Herbert, having been already gained over by Richmond's friends, allowed him to pass unmolested. He was joined on his route by Sir Rees ap Thomas, the most powerful commoner in Wales, and a great number of gentlemen of that country, so that his army daily increased, and in a few days arrived at Shrewsbury, which he entered without opposition.

Meanwhile, a body of 5,000 men was raised by the lord Stanley and his brother Sir William, on pretence of serving Richard, and they advanced to Lichfield, as if their design was to oppose the invader; but Sir William had a private interview with Richmond, whom he assured of his brother's assistance as soon as he could declare himself with any safety to his son, the lord Strange, who was detained as an hostage by the tyrant.

The monarch had by this time assembled his forces at

Nottingham. Hearing that the earl's design was to march to London, he resolved to give him battle on his route; and, with that view, encamped between Leicester and Coventry. Henry in the meantime advanced to Lichfield, from whence the lord Stanley retired at his approach, and took post at Atherstone; and the earl having taken his measures with the two brothers, continued his march to Leicester, where he proposed to venture a decisive engagement. In the neighbourhood of Tamworth he dropped behind his army, and, in a fit of musing, lost his way, so that he was obliged to lay all night at a village, without daring to ask the road, for fear of being suspected, and falling into the hands of his enemies. Next morning he made a shift to rejoin his army at Tamworth, where, finding his friends had been greatly alarmed at his absence, he told them he had gone to confer with some noblemen, who did not choose to appear as yet in his behalf. That same day he privately visited the lord Stanley at Atherstone. Next day, being informed that Richard had marched from Leicester to give him battle, he ordered his troops to march to meet him one half the way.

On the 22nd day of August the two armies came in sight of each other, on a plain called Redmore, near Bosworth, which is rendered famous in history by the battle which terminated the dispute between the houses of York and Lancaster. Richard's army consisted of 12,000 men, well accoutred. The command of the van he conferred on the duke of Norfolk, and he himself took post in the centre, with the crown upon his head, either as a mark of distinction or to appal his adversary. The earl of Richmond drew up his troops, amounting to 5,000 men, ill armed, in two lines; the command of the first he gave to the earl of Oxford, while he himself conducted the other. Lord Stanley, who quitted Atherstone, took post on a piece of ground fronting the interval between the two armies; and his brother, at the head of 2,000 men, stood facing him on the other side. Richard, suspecting Stanley's design, ordered him to join his army; and receiving an equivocal answer, would have put his son to death, had he not been diverted from his purpose by the remonstrances of his



general, who observed that such a sacrifice would be of no service to the royal cause, but would infallibly provoke Stanley and his brother to join the foe, though perhaps his intention was to remain neuter and declare for the victor. Richard was appeased by these representations : but he committed a fatal error in permitting the two brothers to be at liberty to act as they should think proper. His army being equal in number to that of Richmond and the Stanleys when joined together, he ought to have posted two bodies opposite the brothers, with orders to attack them if they should attempt to join the enemy, while he himself, with the remainder, might have given battle to Henry.

The two leaders having harangued their soldiers, the earl of Richmond made a motion on the left, in order to avoid a morass which divided the two armies ; and by this prudent measure not only secured his right flank, but gained another advantage in having the sun at his back, while it shone full in the face of the enemy. Richard, seeing him approach, commanded the trumpets to sound, and the battle began with a general discharge of arrows, after which the king's army advanced to close combat. The lord Stanley perceiving that the duke of Norfolk extended his line to the left in order to surround the enemy, suddenly joined the earl of Richmond's right wing in order to sustain the attack. Norfolk seeing his junction, made a halt to close his files, which had been too much opened for the extension of the line. The match being now pretty equal, the fight was renewed with equal ardour on both sides ; the king's troops seemed to act with reluctance, and were in all probability dispirited by the conduct of the two Stanleys, not knowing but their example might be followed by others in the heat of the engagement. On the other hand, the earl of Oxford charged them with such impetuosity as contributed to damp their courage, and fill their hearts with despondence. Richard, in order to animate them with his presence and example, advanced to the front of the battle : there perceiving his competitor, who had quitted the second line for the same purpose, he couched his lance, and clapping spurs to his horse, ran against him with such fury that he

killed his standard-bearer, Sir William Brandon, father of Charles Brandon, afterwards duke of Suffolk, and unhorsed Sir John Cheeney, an officer remarkable for his strength and prowess. Henry, though he did not seem very eager to engage such an antagonist, advanced to meet him, and kept him at his sword's point until they were parted by the soldiers who interposed. While Richard made this furious effort against the person of his adversary, Sir William Stanley declared for Richmond, and, attacking the royalists in flank, drove their right wing upon the centre, which was so disordered by this shock that it began to fly with the utmost precipitation ; while the earl of Northumberland, who commanded a separate body, stood motionless, and refused to act against the enemy.

The king seeing all his endeavours ineffectual to rally the troops, which were by this time in the utmost confusion, and either scorning to outlive the disgrace of an overthrow, or dreading the thoughts of falling alive into the hands of his enemies, rushed into the midst of the battle, where he fought with the most desperate courage until he was overpowered by numbers, and fell dead in the midst of those he had slain. Though the battle lasted near two hours, including the time in the pursuit, not above 1,000 of the royalists were slain, because the greater part fled without fighting ; and the earl did not lose above 100 men, of whom Sir William Brandon was the most considerable. On the side of the vanquished, besides Richard himself, the duke of Norfolk lost his life ; Lord Ferrers, Sir Richard Radcliff, and Sir Robert Brakenbury met with the same fate ; the earl of Surrey, son of the duke of Norfolk, was then prisoner, and confined in the Tower of London, from which, however, he was soon set at liberty ; the earl of Northumberland, and several partisans of Richard, were taken into favour, and others had the good fortune to escape ; but Catesby, the infamous minister and confidant of the tyrant, who had so villanously betrayed Hastings, having fallen into the hands of the victors, was executed two days after the battle of Bosworth, with some others of the same stamp, who had devoted themselves to the service of Richard.

Immediately after the engagement, the earl of Richmond fell down on his knees in the open field and thanked the Almighty for the blessings he had bestowed on his arms ; then riding up to an eminence, he applauded the soldiers for their gallant behaviour, and promised to reward them according to their deserts. Richard's crown being found among the spoil of the field, was by the lord Stanley placed on the head of Henry, who was saluted as king by the whole army, and from that moment he assumed the title. King Richard's body being stripped stark naked, covered with wounds, filth, and blood, was thrown over a horse's back, with the arms on one side and legs on the other, and carried to Leicester, where, after having been exposed two days, and treated with the utmost indignity, it was buried in the Abbey Church in a private manner, though Henry, in respect to his family, afterwards ordered a tomb to be erected over his grave.

## SUMMARY OF KINGS OF THE PLANTAGENET DYNASTY.

## MAIN LINE.

Name	Date of Access.
1. Henry II. ....	1154
2. Richard I. (Cœur de Lion) ..	1189
3. John (Sansterre).....	1199
4. Henry III. (of Winchester)..	1216
5. Edward I. (Longshanks)....	1272
6. Edward II. ....	1307
7. Edward III.....	1327
8. Richard II. ....	1377

## HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

Name	Date of Access.
1. Henry IV.....	1399
2. Henry V. ....	1413
3. Henry VI.....	1422

## HOUSE OF YORK.

1. Edward IV.....	1461
2. Edward V. ....	1483
3. Richard III.....	1483

CLOSE OF THE PLANTAGENET  
DYNASTY, 1485.

## PART IX.—THE TUDOR DYNASTY, 1485—1603.

## I.—HENRY VII., 1485—1509.

## HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Henry VII. was born at Pembroke, in 1457 : his grandmother was Catherine of France, the widow of Henry V., who had married after her first husband's death, Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales. He was crowned at Westminster, October 30, 1485. He died at Richmond, April 22, 1509, in the fifty-

third year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. He was buried at Westminster.

2. He married Elizabeth of York, the daughter of Edward IV. By her he had three sons and four daughters.

3. Scarcely was Henry established on the throne than a claimant to the crown appeared in the person of Lambert Simnel, who declared himself to be the earl of Warwick (son of the late duke of Clarence), who had been imprisoned by Henry in the Tower immediately after the battle of Bosworth.

4. Simnel was taken prisoner in the battle of Stoke (June 16, 1487), and pardoned by Henry, who employed him in his kitchen, and exhibited the true earl of Warwick to the people to expose the imposture which Simnel had practised.

5. Henry's great failing was avarice. Being compelled to support Brittany against France in 1489, he raised money for the expedition by imposing heavy taxes on the people, which caused a rising in the north of England. After landing with an army in France he made peace with the king, who indemnified him for the expenses of the war, this being the second payment in aid of the same object.

6. There was resident at this time at the French Court (1491) one whom the king's friends called Perkin Warbeck, and his enemies the duke of York, who was said to have been assisted to escape from the Tower when his brother Edward V. was murdered by Richard III.

7. As soon as Henry had concluded peace with Charles VIII. of France, Warbeck retired to Flanders, where he was favourably received by Margaret of Burgundy, the sister of Edward IV. After unsuccessful attempts to rouse the people in his favour in Ireland and England, Warbeck went to the court of Scotland, where James III. received him with respect, and gave him his cousin, the lady Catherine Gordon, in marriage (1496).

8. James invaded England in Warbeck's behalf, but soon retreated. Warbeck then landed in Cornwall, and advanced to Taunton, where he deserted his followers, and took refuge in the Sanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest (1497).

9. He surrendered to Henry, on the promise of his life being spared, and was confined in the Tower; but for attempting to escape with his fellow prisoner, the earl of Warwick, he was hanged at Tyburn, and Warwick was beheaded (1499).

10. The remaining years of Henry's reign were untroubled either by wars abroad or revolts at home. He was a cruel but politic king, as is shown by his treatment of Warwick, and the

marriage of his eldest son Arthur to Catherine of Arragon, and his daughter Margaret to James IV. of Scotland.

11. His love of money led him to many acts of meanness, injustice, and oppression, carried out by his unscrupulous agents, Empson and Dudley.

### THE STORY OF PERKIN WARBECK.

#### PART I.—HOW WARBECK WAS PREPARED TO PLAY HIS PART.

*[Abridged and adapted from a "History of King Henry VII.," by Francis, Lord Bacon, who was born in 1561. After serving as king's counsel, solicitor-general, judge of the Marshalsea Court, and attorney-general, he became lord high chancellor of England, and was created Baron Verulam in 1619. In the following year he was created Viscount St. Albans. As a judge he was corrupt, his avarice prompting him to accept money from suitors to procure decisions in their favour; but as an orator, writer, or thinker, few have been found to equal him. His chief work is one called the "Instauracion of the Sciences," which is divided into four parts, namely, "Of the Proficience and Advancement of Learning, Divine and Human," the "Novum Organum," the "History of Nature," and the "Progress of the Understanding." Among other productions may be named a philosophical romance, called the "New Atlantis." He is styled by Pope "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind," a brief and terse, but true exposition of his character.]*

At that time the king began again to be haunted with spirits, by the magic and curious arts of the lady Margaret, who raised up the ghost of Richard, duke of York, second son of King Edward IV., to walk and vex the king. This was a finer counterfeit stone than Lambert Simnel, better done, and worn upon greater hands, being graced after with the wearing of a king of France and a king of Scotland, not of a duchess of Burgundy only. And as for Simnel, there was not much in him more than that he was a handsome boy, and did not shame his robes. But this youth of whom we are now to speak was so mercurial in his nature as the like hath seldom been known, and could make his own part if at any time he chanced to be out. Wherefore this, being one of the strangest examples of a

personation that ever was, in elder or later times, it deserveth to be discovered and related at the full, although the king's manner for showing things by pieces and dark lights hath so muffled it that it hath been left almost as a mystery to this day.

The lady Margaret, the widow of King Henry VI., always on the watch to do the king a mischief, for a foundation of her own particular practices against him, did continually, by all means possible, nourish, maintain, and divulge the flying opinion that Richard, duke of York, second son to Edward IV., was not murdered in the Tower, as was given out, but saved alive. For that those who were employed in that barbarous act, having destroyed the elder brother, were stricken with remorse and compassion towards the younger, and set him privily at liberty to seek his fortune. This line she cast abroad, thinking that this fame and belief, together with the fresh example of Lambert Simnel, would draw, at one time or other, some birds to strike upon it. She used likewise a further diligence, not committing all to chance, for she had secret agents in her pay to look abroad for handsome and graceful youths to make Plantagenets and dukes of York. At last she did light on one in whom all things met as one would wish, to serve her turn for a counterfeit Richard, duke of York.

This was Perkin Warbeck, whose adventures we shall now describe. For first, the years agreed well ; secondly, he was a youth of fine favour and shape. But more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity and induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination and enchantment to those that saw him or heard him. Thirdly, he had been from his childhood such a wanderer that it was extremely hard to hunt out his nest and parents. Neither, again, could any man, by company or conversing with him, be able to say or detect well what he was, he did so flit from place to place. Lastly, there is a circumstance which is mentioned by one that wrote in the same time that is very likely to have made somewhat to the matter, which is that King Edward IV. was his godfather.

It happened that there was a townsman of Tournay that had borne office in that town, whose name was John

Osbeck, a converted Jew, married to Catherine de Faro, whose business drew him to live for a time with his wife at London in King Edward IV.'s days. During this time a son was born to him, and, being known in the court, the king, either out of a religious nobleness because he was a convert, or upon some private acquaintance, did him the honour to be godfather to this child, and named him Peter. But afterwards, proving a dainty and effeminate youth, he was commonly called by the diminutive of his name, Peterkin, or Perkin. As for the name of Warbeck, it was given him when they did but guess at it, before examinations had been taken. But yet he had been so much talked of by that name that it stuck to him after his true name of Osbeck was known. While he was a young child his parents returned with him to Tournay. There he was placed in the house of a kinsman of his, called John Stenbeck, at Antwerp, and so roved up and down between Antwerp and Tournay, and other towns of Flanders, for a good time, living much in English company, and having the English tongue perfect. In which time, being grown a comely youth, he was brought by some of the agents of the lady Margaret into her presence, who, viewing him well, and seeing that he had a face and personage that would bear a noble fortune, and finding him otherwise of a fine spirit and winning behaviour, thought she had now found a curious piece of marble to carve out an image of a duke of York. She kept him by her a great while, but with extreme secrecy, instructing him meanwhile by many cabinet conferences, first in princely behaviour and gesture, teaching him how he should keep state, yet with a modest sense of his misfortunes ; then she informed him of all the circumstances and particulars that concerned the person of Richard, duke of York, which he was to act, describing to him the personages, lineaments, and features of the king and queen, his pretended parents, and of his brothers and sisters, and divers others that were nearest him in his childhood, together with all passages—some secret, some common—that were fit for a child's memory, until the death of King Edward. Then she added the particulars of the time from the king's death until he and his brother

were committed to the Tower, as well during the time he was abroad as while he was in sanctuary. As for the times while he was in the Tower, and the manner of his brother's death and his own escape, she knew they were things which a very few could control, and therefore she taught him only to tell a smooth and likely tale of those matters, warning him not to vary from it.

After such time as she thought he was perfect in his lesson, she began to cast with herself from what coast this blazing star should first appear, and at what time it must be upon the horizon of Ireland, for there had the like meteor (namely Lambert Simnel) strong influence before. The time of the apparition she determined should be when the king should be engaged in a war with France. But well she knew that whatsoever should come from her would be held suspected; and, therefore, if he should go out of Flanders immediately into Ireland, she might be thought to have some hand in it. Therefore she sent him unknown into Portugal, where he continued about a year, by which time the king of England had declared open war against France. He was then bid by the duchess to go to Ireland according to the plan she had devised, and in Ireland he soon arrived, landing at the town of Cork. And immediately upon his coming into Ireland he took upon him the said person of the duke of York, and drew unto him accomplices and partakers by all the means he could devise.

Somewhat before this time the duchess had also gained over to her a near servant of King Henry's own, one Stephen Frion, his secretary for the French tongue, an active man, but turbulent and discontented. This Frion had fled over to Charles, the French king, and put himself into his service at such time as he began to be in open enmity with the king. Now King Charles, when he understood of the person and attempts of Perkin, ready of himself to embrace all advantages against the king of England, instigated by Frion, and formerly prepared by the lady Margaret, forthwith dispatched one Lucas and this Frion in the nature of ambassadors to Perkin, to advertise him of the king's good inclination to him, and that he was resolved



to aid him to recover his rights against King Henry, an usurper of England and an enemy of France, and wished him to come over to him at Paris. When he was come into the court of France the king received him with great honour, saluted and styled him by the name of the duke of York, lodged him and accommodated him in great state ; and the better to give him the representation and the countenance of a prince, assigned him a guard for his person.

But all this on the French king's part was but a trick the better to bow King Henry to peace, and, therefore, upon the first grain of incense that was sacrificed upon the altar of peace at Boulogne, Perkin was smoked away. Yet would not the French king deliver him up to King Henry, as he was entreated to do for his honour's sake, but warned him away and dismissed him. Perkin, therefore, took his way into Flanders to the duchess of Burgundy, noways taking knowledge that he had been there before, but acting as if it had been but his first coming thither. The duchess, on her part, pretended at the first, and that was ever in the presence of others, to pose and sift him, thereby to try whether he were indeed the very duke of York or no. But seeming to receive full satisfaction by his answers, she then feigned herself to be transported with a kind of astonishment, mixed of joy and wonder, at his miraculous escape, receiving him as if he were risen from death to life, and inferring that God, who in such wonderful manner preserved him from death, did likewise reserve him for some great and prosperous fortune. The duchess, therefore, as in a case out of doubt, did him all princely honour, calling him always by the name of her nephew, giving him the delicate title of the "White Rose of England," and appointed him a guard of thirty persons, halberdiers, clad in a party-coloured livery of murrey and blue, to attend his person.

The news hereof came blazing and thundering over into England that the duke of York was sure alive. As for the name of Perkin Warbeck, it was not at that time come to light, but all the news ran upon the duke of York ; that he had been entertained in Ireland, bought and sold in France, and was now plainly avowed and in great honour

in Flanders. It was not long ere these rumours of novelty had begotten others of scandal and murmur against the king and his government, taxing him for a great taxer of his people and discountenancer of his nobility. The loss of Brittany and the peace with France were not forgotten, but chiefly they fell upon the wrong that he did his queen, in that he did not reign in her right; wherefore they said that God had now brought to light a masculine branch of the house of York, that would not be as his courtesy, howsoever he did depress his poor lady. After a while these ill-humours drew to a head and settled secretly in some eminent persons, in which were Sir William Stanley, lord chamberlain of the king's household, the lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountfort, and Sir Thomas Thwaites. These entered into a secret conspiracy to favour Duke Richard's title. Nevertheless none engaged their fortunes openly in this business but two, Sir Robert Clifford and Master William Bailey, who sailed over into Flanders, sent, indeed, from the party of the conspirators here, to understand the truth of those things that passed there; and the former, in the end, won either by the duchess to affect, or by Perkin to believe, wrote back into England that he knew the person of Richard duke of York as well as he knew his own, and that this young man was undoubtedly he. By this means all things grew prepared to revolt and sedition here, and the conspiracy came to have a correspondence between Flanders and England.

#### PART II.—HOW WARBECK TRIED TO WIN THE CROWN AND FAILED.

*[Before entering on Lord Bacon's account of the efforts that were made in England to sustain Warbeck's clever imposture, and how his attempt to win the crown was utterly frustrated by it, it should be stated that the claims of the adventurer seemed at one time so good to James IV., king of Scotland, that he received him at his court, and gave him his relative, the lady Catherine Gordon, in marriage; and not only this, but incurred the danger and expense of war with England on this account. But that his belief in the genuineness of Warbeck's pretensions was not firmly established, appears, as we shall presently see, by his withdrawal of his open support and countenance.]*

The king of Scotland, though he would not formally retract his judgment of Perkin, wherein he had engaged himself so far ; yet in his private opinion, upon frequent speech with the Englishmen and other things that awakened distrust in his mind, began to suspect him for a counterfeit. Wherefore, in a noble fashion, he called him unto him and recounted the benefits and favours that he had done him in making him his ally, and in provoking a mighty and opulent king, by an offensive war in his quarrel for the space of two years together ; nay more, that he had refused an honourable peace, whereof he had a fair offer, if he would have delivered him up ; and that to keep his promise with him he had deeply offended both his nobles and people, whom he might not hold in any long discontent ; and, therefore, required him to think of his own fortunes, and to choose out some fitter place for his exile : telling after all that he could not say but that the English had forsaken him before the Scottish, for that, upon two several trials, none had declared themselves upon his side ; but, nevertheless, he would make good what he said unto him at his first receiving, which was that he should not repent him for putting himself into his hands ; for that he would not cast him off, but help him with shipping and means to transport him where he should desire.

Perkin, not at all descending from his stage-like greatness, answered the king in few words, that he saw his time was not yet come ; but, whatsoever his misfortunes were, he should both think and speak honour of the king ; and, taking his leave, he took his lady and such followers as would not leave him, and sailed over into Ireland. And shortly after, some of the most discontented of all classes in England, hearing of Perkin's being in that country, found means to send to him to let him know that if he would come over to them they would serve him.

When Perkin heard this news he began to take heart again, and advised upon it with his council, which were principally three : Herne, a mercer, that had fled for debt ; Skelton, a tailor ; and Astley, a scrivener, for Secretary Frion was gone. These told him that he was mightily overseen, both when he went into Kent, and when he went

into Scotland : the one being a place so near London and under the king's nose ; and the other a nation to whom the people of England were so distasteful, that if they had loved him never so well, yet they could never have taken his part in that company. But if he had been so happy as to have been in Cornwall, at the first, when the people began to take up arms there, he had been crowned at Westminster before this time. For these kings, as he had now experience, would sell poor princes for shoes. But he must rely wholly upon the people ; and, therefore, advised him to sail over with all possible speed into Cornwall, which he accordingly did, having in his company four small barks, with some sixscore or sevenscore fighting men. He arrived in September, at Whitsand Bay, and forthwith came to Bodmin, where there assembled to him about three thousand men of the rude people. There he set forth a new proclamation, stroking the people with fair promises, and humouring them with invectives against the king and his government. And as it fareth with smoke which never loseth itself till it be at the highest, he did now before his end raise his style, entitling himself no more Richard, duke of York, but Richard IV., king of England. His council advised him by all means to make himself master of some good walled town, as well as to make his men find the sweetness of rich spoils, and to allure to him all loose and lost people, by like hopes of booty, as to be a sure retreat to his forces, in case they should have any ill day or unlucky chance in the field.

Perkin, acting on this advice, went on and besieged Exeter, the principal town for strength and wealth in those parts ; but hearing that preparations were making against him from many parts, he raised the siege and marched to Taunton, beginning already to cast one eye upon the crown and the other upon the sanctuary, though the Cornishmen were become, like metal often fired and quenched—churlish, and inclined sooner to break than bow, swearing and vowing not to leave him until the uttermost drop of their blood were spilt. He was, at his rising from Exeter, between six and seven thousand strong, many having come to him after he was set before Exeter, upon fame of so

great an enterprise, and to partake of the spoil, though upon the raising of the siege some did slip away. When he was come near Taunton he dissembled all fear, and seemed all the day to use diligence in preparing all things ready to fight : but about midnight he fled with three-score horse to Beaulieu, in the New Forest, where he and divers of his countrymen registered themselves sanctuary men, leaving his Cornishmen to the four winds, but yet thereby easing them of their vow, and using his wonted compassion, not to be by when his subjects' blood should be spilt.

The king, as soon as he heard of Perkin's flight, sent presently five hundred horse to pursue and apprehend him before he should get either to the sea or to that same little island called a sanctuary. But they came too late for the latter of these. Therefore all they could do was to beset the sanctuary, and maintain a strict watch about it till the king's pleasure were further known. As for the rest of the rebels, they being deprived of their head, without stroke being stricken, submitted themselves to the king's mercy. And the king, who commonly drew blood as physicians do, rather to save life than to spill it, and was never cruel when he was secure, now he saw the danger was passed, pardoned them all in the end except some few desperate persons, whom he reserved to be executed, the better to set off his mercy towards the rest. There were also sent with all speed some horse to St. Michael's Mount, in Cornwall, where the lady Catherine Gordon was left by her husband, whom in all fortunes she entirely loved, adding the virtues of a wife to the virtues of her sex. The king sent in the greater diligence, not knowing whether she might be about to give birth to a child, whereby the business would not have ended in Perkin's person. When she was brought to the king, it was commonly said that the king received her not only with compassion but with affection, pity giving more impression to her excellent beauty. Wherefore comforting her, to serve as well his eye as his fame, he sent her to his queen to remain with her, giving her very honourable allowance for the support of her estate, which she enjoyed both during the king's life and many years after. The



name of the "White Rose," which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued in common speech to her true beauty.

Perkin, induced by the promise that his life should be spared to submit himself to the king's mercy, was brought to the king's court, but not to his presence, though Henry, to satisfy his curiosity, saw him sometimes out of a window in a passage. He was in show at liberty, but guarded with all the care and watch that was possible, and constrained to follow the king to London. But from his first appearance upon the stage in his new person of a sycophant or juggler, instead of his former person of a prince, all men may think how he was exposed to the derision not only of the courtiers, but also of the common people, who flocked about him as he went along, that one might know afar off where the owl was by the flight of the birds, some mocking, some wondering, some prying and picking matter out of his countenance and gesture to talk of, so that the false honour and respect which he had so long enjoyed was plentifully repaid in scorn and contempt. As soon as he was come to London the king gave also the city the solace of this May game, for he was conveyed leisurely on horseback, but not in any ignominious fashion, through Cheapside and Cornhill to the Tower, and from thence back again to Westminster, with the noise of a thousand taunts and reproaches. Soon after, now that Perkin could tell better what he himself was, he was diligently examined, and after his confession was taken, an extract was made of such parts of it as were thought fit to be divulged, which was printed and dispersed about. But in this the king did himself no good; for as there was a laboured tale of particulars of Perkin's father and mother, and grandsire and grandmother, and uncles and cousins, by names and surnames, and from what places he travelled up and down, so there was little or nothing of anything to purpose concerning his designs, or any practices that had been held with him; nor the duchess of Burgundy herself, that all the world did take knowledge of as the person who had put life and being into the whole business, so much as named or pointed at. So that men, though missing that which

they looked for, looked about for they knew not what, and were in more doubt than before, for the king chose rather not to satisfy than to kindle coals.

It was not long before Perkin, who was made of quicksilver, which is hard to hold or imprison, began to stir, and, deceiving his keepers, he took to his heels and made with all speed for the sea coast ; but presently all corners were laid for him, and such diligent pursuit and search made, that he was fain to turn back and get him to the House of Bethlehem, called the Priory of Sheen, which had the privilege of sanctuary, and put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior was thought a holy man, and much revered in those days. He came to the king and besought him for Perkin's life only, leaving him otherwise to the king's discretion. Many about the king were again more hot than ever to have the king take him forth and hang him. But the king that had a high stomach and could not hate any that he despised, bid "Take him forth and set the knave in the stocks ;" and so, promising the friar his life, he caused him to be brought forth ; and within two or three days after he was fettered and set in the stocks for the whole day, upon a scaffold set up in the palace of Westminster. And the next day after the like was done to him at the cross in Cheapside ; and in both places he read his confession, of which we made mention before, and was from Cheapside conveyed and laid up in the Tower.

But Perkin, after that he had been awhile in the Tower, began to insinuate himself into the favour and kindness of his keepers, servants to the lieutenant of the Tower, Sir John Digby, being four in number—Strangeways, Blewet, Astwood, and Long Roger. These varlets, with mountains of promises he sought to corrupt to obtain his escape ; but knowing well that his own fortunes were made so contemptible that he could feed no man's hopes, and by hopes he must work, for rewards he had none, he had contrived with himself a vast and tragical plot, which was to draw into his company Edward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, then a prisoner in the Tower, whom the weary life of a long imprisonment and the often renewed fears of

being put to death, had softened to take any impression of counsel for his liberty. This young prince, he thought, these servants would look upon, though not upon himself; and therefore, after that by some message by one or two of them he had tasted of the earl's consent, it was agreed that these four should murder their master the lieutenant secretly in the night, and make their best of such money and portable goods of his as they should find ready at hand, and get the keys of the Tower, and presently let forth Perkin and the earl.

But this conspiracy was revealed in time before it could be executed; and in this, again, the opinion of the king's great wisdom did surcharge him with a sinister report that Perkin was but his bait to entrap the earl of Warwick. And in the very instant while this conspiracy was in working, as if that also had been the king's industry, it was fatal that there should break forth a counterfeit earl of Warwick, a shoemaker's son, whose name was Ralph Wilford, a young man taught and set on by an Augustin friar, called Patrick. They both from the parts of Suffolk came forward into Kent, where they did not only privily and underhand give out that this Wilford was the true earl of Warwick, but also the friar, finding some light credence in the people, took the boldness in the pulpit to declare as much, and to incite the people to come in to his aid. Whereupon they were both presently apprehended, and the young fellow executed, and the friar condemned to perpetual imprisonment.

This also happening so unfortunately to represent the danger from the earl of Warwick to the king's estate, and thereby to colour the king's severity that followed; together with the madness of the friar so vainly and desperately to divulge a treason before it had gotten any manner of strength, and the saving of the friar's life, which, nevertheless, was indeed the privilege of his order; and the pity in the common people, which if it run in a strong stream doth ever cast up scandal and envy, made it generally rather talked than believed that all was but the king's device. But howsoever it were, Perkin, that had now the third time offended against grace, was at the



last proceeded against, and arraigned at Westminster upon divers treasons committed and perpetrated after his coming on land within this kingdom (for so the judges advised, for that he was a foreigner), and condemned, and a few days after executed at Tyburn, where he did again openly read his confession, and take it upon his death to be true. This was the end of this little cockatrice of a king that was able to destroy those who did not espy him first. It was one of the longest plays of that kind that hath been in memory, and might, perhaps, have had another end, if he had not met with a king both wise, stout, and fortunate.

## II.—HENRY VIII., 1509—1547.

### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Henry VIII. (the second son of Henry VII.) was born at Greenwich, June 21, 1492, and crowned at Westminster, June 24, 1509. He died at Westminster, January 28, 1547, in the fifty-sixth year of his age and the thirty-eighth of his reign. He was buried at Windsor.

2. Henry's wives were six in number: 1. Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow, by whom he had a daughter, Mary; 2. Anne Boleyn, who gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth; 3. Jane Seymour, who bore him a son, afterwards Edward VI.; 4. Anne of Cleves; 5. Catherine Howard; and 6. Catherine Parr, who survived him.

3. After his accession, Empson and Dudley, by whose agency his father had extorted money from his subjects in every conceivable way, were put to death (1510). In 1512, he entered on a war with France in the pope's behalf. After landing at Calais, he was joined at the siege of Terouenne by Maximilian, emperor of Germany, and the allied forces defeated the French troops in the "battle of the Spurs" (August 27, 1513).

4. During Henry's absence in France, James IV. of Scotland had invaded England, and taken Norham Castle. He was killed, and the Scottish army totally routed in the disastrous fight of Flodden Field (September 9, 1513).

5. After the capture of Tournay, Henry returned to England. At this time the eminent statesman and prelate Wolsey, the son of a butcher of Ipswich, who had risen to the position of cardinal, archbishop of York, and chancellor of England, entirely managed the affairs of the nation. He was created papal legate in 1517.

6. In 1517, the Reformation in Germany was commenced by Luther, who openly exposed the sin and error committed by the Church of Rome in the sale of indulgences for past sins, and even for offences that men might commit in time to come.

7. In 1520, Henry and Francis I. of France, held the Conference of the "Field of the Cloth of Gold," near Calais. After his return Henry wrote a treatise against Luther in defence of the sacraments of the Church of Rome, for which the pope styled him "Defender of the Faith," a title which the monarchs of England retain to this day.

8. In 1521, the Duke of Buckingham, being suspected of treason, is beheaded. During the four following years domestic troubles arose in consequence of a property tax imposed by Wolsey, and the levy of taxes for a war with France without the sanction of Parliament.

9. The validity of Henry's marriage with his brother's widow having been questioned, the king sought a divorce from the pope. Wolsey, who was aspiring to the papal chair, and therefore anxious not to offend Charles V. of Germany, who had promised him his interest, and who was the queen's nephew, showed a disposition to side with the queen.

10. This led to the fall of Wolsey. The pope appointed him, with Cardinal Campeggio, to try the right of the proposed divorce. They delayed their decision, and Henry at last denied the pope's supremacy, and caused Wolsey to be arrested for high treason.

11. Wolsey died soon after at Leicester Abbey (1530). The universities decide in favour of the divorce with Cranmer, who had become archbishop of Canterbury, and who had always espoused the king's side. Henry declared himself to be, and was acknowledged by the clergy as "head of the Church" in England. He also married Anne Boleyn, and from this union the princess, afterwards Queen, Elizabeth was born (1553).

12. Henry then defended the reformed faith as eagerly as he had previously supported the Church of Rome. The Act of Supremacy was passed (1534), and a persecution of the Roman Catholics followed. Fisher and Sir Thomas More were sent to the scaffold; Frith, Elizabeth Barton, called the Maid of Kent, and others, were burned for heresy.

13. In 1536, Queen Catherine died at Richmond, and Anne Boleyn was beheaded on a false charge of infidelity to the king, who, immediately after her death, married the lady Jane Seymour, one of the late queen's maids of honour.

14. The doctrines of the Reformation were readily embraced by the middle classes. Henry completely severed himself from Rome by the confiscation and destruction of the religious houses and monasteries throughout England (1537). At this time the Holy Bible was first printed in English and placed in all the churches.

15. Jane Seymour having died in giving birth to a son, the king then married Anne of Cleves; but as he greatly disliked her personal appearance a separation was agreed on, and Cromwell, earl of Essex, who had promoted the marriage, was executed for treason, though on what he had committed treason does not clearly appear. Cromwell was one of those who were chiefly instrumental in promising and bringing about the Reformation in England.

16. Towards the close of the year 1540, Henry married Catherine Howard, who was beheaded in the year following on a charge of treason and infidelity. In 1543, the king married his sixth wife, Catherine Parr, who outlived him.

17. Henry was desirous of bringing about a union between his son Edward and Mary, the daughter of James V. The match was opposed by the Scotch, and Henry, furious at their resistance, sent an army into Scotland and destroyed Edinburgh (1544).

18. Henry's last act of uncalled-for severity and injustice was the execution of the earl of Surrey, who was accused of harbouring a design on the throne. Sentence of death was also passed on his father, the duke of Norfolk, whose life was saved by the death of the king (1547).

19. Henry's character after his accession presents no redeeming qualities. He was cruel and truculent, self-willed and obstinate. He favoured the Reformation only through motives of self-interest. Changeable in his views he burned Protestants and Roman Catholics indiscriminately as heretics, if their opinions did not invariably coincide with his, and change as his might alter.

20. The great point of interest in Henry's reign is the Reformation, which was aided in its progress by the important discovery of the invaluable art of printing.

#### THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF QUEEN ANNE.

[From a "*History of England*" by David Hume. For biographical notice see page 64].

While the retainers of the new religion were exulting in

their prosperity, they met with a mortification which seemed to blast all their hopes. Their patroness, Anne Boleyn, possessed no longer the king's favour; and soon after lost her life by the rage of that furious monarch. Henry had persevered in his love to this lady during six years that his prosecution of his divorce lasted; and the more obstacles he met with to the gratification of his passion, the more determined zeal did he exert in pursuing his purpose. But the affection which had subsisted and still increased under difficulties had not long obtained secure possession of its object when it languished from satiety; and the king's heart was apparently estranged from his consort. Anne's enemies soon perceived the fatal change, and they were forward to widen the breach when they found that they incurred no danger by interposing in those delicate concerns. She had been delivered of a dead son, and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus for the present disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to influence the king against her was his jealousy. Anne, though she appears to have been entirely innocent and even virtuous in her conduct, had a certain gaiety, if not levity, of character, which threw her off her guard and made her less circumspect than her situation required. Her education in France rendered her more prone to those freedoms; and it was with difficulty she conformed herself to that strict ceremonial practised in the court of England. More vain than haughty, she was pleased to see the influence of her beauty on all around her, and she indulged herself with an easy familiarity with persons who were formerly her equals, and who might then have pretended to her friendship and good graces. Henry's dignity was offended with these popular manners; and though the lover had been entirely blind, the husband possessed but too quick discernment and penetration. Ill instruments had put a malignant interpretation on the harmless liberties of the queen. The viscountess of Rochford, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad

terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions into the king's mind ; and as she was a woman of profligate character, she paid no regard either to truth or humanity in those calumnies which she suggested.

Henry Norris, groom of the stole, Weston and Brereton, gentlemen of the king's chamber, together with Mark Smeton, groom of the chamber, were observed to possess much of the queen's friendship ; and they served her with a zeal and attachment which, though chiefly derived from gratitude, might not improbably be seasoned with some mixture of tenderness for so amiable a princess. The king's jealousy laid hold of the slightest circumstance ; and finding no particular object on which it could fasten, it vented itself equally on every one who came within the verge of its fury.

Had Henry's jealousy been derived from love, though it might on a sudden have proceeded to the most violent extremities, it would have been subject to many remorse and contrarieties, and might at last have suffered only to augment that affection on which it was founded. But it was a more stern jealousy, fostered entirely by pride. His love was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him ; and he was determined to sacrifice everything to the gratification of this new appetite. Unlike to most monarchs, who judge lightly of this crime of gallantry, and who deem the young damsels of their court rather honoured by their passion, he seldom thought of any other attachment than that of marriage ; and in order to attain this end he underwent more difficulties and committed greater crimes than those which he sought to avoid by forming that legal connection ; and having thus entertained the design of raising his new mistress to his bed and throne, he more willingly hearkened to every suggestion which threw any imputation of guilt on the unfortunate Anne Boleyn.

The king's jealousy first appeared openly in a tilting at Greenwich, where the queen happened to drop her handkerchief ; an incident probably casual, but interpreted by

him as an instance of gallantry to some of her paramours. He immediately retired from the place, sent orders to confine her to her chamber, arrested Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, together with her brother, Rochford, and threw them into prison. The queen, astonished at these instances of his fury, thought that he only meant to try her; but, finding him in earnest, she reflected on his obstinate, unrelenting spirit, and prepared herself for that melancholy doom which was awaiting her. Next day she was sent to the Tower; and, on her way thither, she was informed of her supposed offences, of which she had hitherto been ignorant. She made earnest protestations of her innocence, and, when she entered the prison, she fell on her knees and prayed God so to help her, as she was not guilty of the crime imputed to her. Her surprise and confusion threw her into hysterical disorders, and in that situation she thought that the best proof of her innocence was to make an entire confession, and she revealed some indiscretions and levities which her simplicity had equally betrayed her to commit and to avow. She owned that she had once rallied Norris on his delaying his marriage, and had told him that he probably expected her when she should be a widow. She had reproved Weston, she said, for his affection for a kinswoman of hers, and his indifference towards his wife; but he told her that she had mistaken the object of his affection, for it was herself, upon which she defied him. She affirmed that Smeton had never been in her chamber but twice, when he played on the harpsichord; but she acknowledged that he had the boldness to tell her that a look sufficed him. The king, instead of being satisfied with the candour and sincerity of her confession, regarded these indiscretions only as preludes to greater and more criminal intimacies.

Of all those multitudes whom the beneficence of the queen's temper had obliged during her prosperous fortune, no one durst interpose between her and the king's fury; and the person whose advancement every breath had favoured and every countenance had smiled upon, was now left neglected and abandoned. Even her uncle, the duke of Norfolk, preferring the connections of party to the

ties of blood, was become her most dangerous enemy ; and all the retainers to the Catholic religion hoped that her death would terminate the king's quarrel with Rome, and leave him again to his natural and early bent, which had inclined him to maintain the most intimate union with the Apostolic See. Cranmer, alone of all the queen's adherents, still retained his friendship for her ; and, as far as the king's impetuosity permitted him, he endeavoured to moderate the violent prejudices entertained against her.

The queen herself wrote Henry a letter from the Tower, full of the most tender expostulations and of the warmest protestations of innocence. This letter had no influence on the unrelenting mind of Henry, who was determined to pave the way for his new marriage by the death of Anne Boleyn. Norris, Weston, Brereton, and Smeton were tried, but no legal evidence was produced against them. The chief proof of their guilt consisted in a hearsay from one Lady Winkfield, who was dead. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen ; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession, for they never dared to confront him with her, and he was immediately executed, as also were Brereton and Weston. Norris had been much in the king's favour, and an offer of life was made him if he would confess his crime and accuse the queen ; but he generously rejected the proposal, and said that in his conscience he believed her entirely guiltless, but, for his part, he could accuse her of nothing, and he would rather die a thousand deaths than calumniate an innocent person.

The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, consisting of the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Arundel, and twenty-three more. Their uncle, the duke of Norfolk, presided as high steward. Part of the charge against her was that she had affirmed to each of her minions that the king never had her heart, and had said to each of them apart that she loved him better than any person whatever, which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the king and her. By this strained interpretation her guilt was brought under the statute of the 25th of this reign, in which it was declared criminal

to throw any slander upon the king, queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were at that time admitted, and they were regarded by the peers of England as a sufficient reason for sacrificing an innocent queen to the cruelty of their tyrant. Though unassisted by counsel, she defended herself with presence of mind, and the spectators could not bear pronouncing her entirely innocent. Judgment, however, was given by the court, both against the queen and Lord Rochford, and her verdict contained that she should be burned or beheaded, at the king's pleasure. When this dreadful sentence was pronounced she was not terrified, but lifting up her hands, said, "O Father, O Creator, thou who art the way, the truth, and the life. Thou knowest that I have not deserved this fate;" and then, turning to the judges, made the most pathetic declarations of her innocence.

Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate. He recalled to his memory that a little after her appearance in the English court some attachment had been acknowledged between her and the earl of Northumberland, then Lord Percy, and he now questioned that nobleman with regard to these engagements. Northumberland took an oath before the two archbishops that no contract or promise of marriage had ever passed between them. He received the sacrament upon it before the duke of Norfolk and others of the privy council, and this solemn act he accompanied with the most solemn protestations of veracity. The queen, however, was shaken with menaces of executing the sentence against her in its greatest rigour, and was prevailed on to confess in court some lawful impediment to her marriage with the king. The afflicted primate, who sat as judge, thought himself obliged, by this confession, to pronounce the marriage null and invalid. Henry, in the transports of his fury, did not perceive that his proceedings were totally inconsistent, and that if her marriage were from the beginning invalid she could not possibly be guilty of breaking the marriage vows.

The queen now prepared herself for suffering the death



to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him in his uniformly continuing his endeavours for her advancement. From a private gentlewoman, she said, he had made her first a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and committed her daughter to his care. Before the lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations, and continued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert, and my neck is very slender," upon which she grasped it in her hand and smiled. When brought, however, to the scaffold she softened her tone a little with regard to her protestations of innocence. She probably reflected that the obstinacy of Queen Catherine, and her opposition to the king's will, had much alienated him from the lady Mary. Her own natural concern, therefore, for Elizabeth prevailed in these last moments over that indignation which the unjust sentence by which she suffered naturally excited in her. She said that she was come to die, as she was sentenced by the law. She would accuse none, nor say anything of the ground upon which she was judged. She prayed heartily for the king, called him a most merciful and gentle prince, and acknowledged that he had always been to her a good and gracious sovereign; and if any one should think proper to canvass her cause, she desired him to judge the best. She was beheaded by the executioner of Calais, who was sent for as being more expert than any in England. Her body was negligently thrown into a common chest of elm, made to hold arrows, and was buried in the Tower.

#### THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES.

[From a "*History of England*," by David Hume. For biographical notice see page 64.]

There was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive, because he was there impelled by his avarice, or,

more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion. This measure was the entire destruction of the monasteries. A new visitation was accordingly appointed of all the monasteries in England, and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the humour of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed ; and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence were employed ; and as several of the abbots, since the breach with Rome, had been named by the court with a view to this event, the king's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrines of the Reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows ; and, on the whole, the design was conducted with such success that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues.

In several places, particularly in the county of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, as it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars ; and the one institution might be laudable whilst the other was exposed to great blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public, and none of them could want employment suited to his station or capacity. But a woman of family, who failed of settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled ; and a convent was a retreat both honourable and agreeable, from the inutility and often want which attended her situation. But the king was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination, and probably

thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten if no remains of them of any kind were suffered to subsist in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents ; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The relics also, and other things which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to ridicule ; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observance and objects that appealed immediately to the senses, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars. Protestant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents ; the parings of St. Edmund's nails ; some of the coals that roasted St. Lawrence ; the girdle of the Virgin shown in eleven different places ; two or three heads of St. Ursula ; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the headache ; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt ; some relics that were an excellent preventive against rain, others against weeds in corn. But such superstitions, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the Catholic religion.

There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, there had been shown during several ages the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem ; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relic was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this remarkable relic. The sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin even when set before him ; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks, who were let into the secret, had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week ; they put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin transparent glass, the

other of thick and opaque glass. When any rich pilgrim arrived they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial till masses and offerings had expiated his offences ; and then, finding his money, or patience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial.

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Bexley, in Kent, and bore the appellation of the Rood of Grace. The lips, eyes, and head of the image moved at the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's Cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought to London and cut in pieces ; and by a cruel refinement in vengeance it was employed as fuel to burn Friar Forrest, who was punished for denying the king's supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds ; but as the king's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of the pledge.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition none was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges ; and for that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages towards his tomb, and numberless were the miracles they pretended his relics wrought in favour of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year ; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday. Every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee in his honour, which lasted fifteen days ; plenary indulgences were then granted to all who visited his tomb, and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion towards him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity—nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year £3 2s. 6d. ; at the Virgin's, £63 5s. 6d. ;

at St. Thomas's, £832 12s. 3d. But next year the disproportion was still greater. There was not a penny offered at God's altar ; the Virgin's gained only £4 1s. 8d. ; but St. Thomas had got for his share £954 6s. 3d. Louis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must have appeared, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas, but he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor ; he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar, the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries, his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the air.

On the whole the king at different times suppressed 645 monasteries, of which 28 had abbots that enjoyed a seat in Parliament ; 90 colleges were demolished in several counties, 2,374 chantries and free chapels, and 110 hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to £161,100. It is worthy of observation that all the lands and possessions and revenues of England had a little before this period been rated at £4,000,000 a year ; so that the revenues of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income, a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at a very low rent, and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, always took care to renew their leases before they expired.

Great murmurs were everywhere excited on account of these violences, and men much questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could by any deed however voluntary transfer to the king the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the king would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes, but would be able from the abbey lands alone to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of the

government. While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures: he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favourites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent as a reward for making a pudding which gratified his palate. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors proportionate to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks. He erected six new bishoprics—Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester, of which five exist to this day; and by all these means of expense and dissipation of the profit, which the king reaped by the seizure of church lands, fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate, so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to those of the lesser.

Besides the lands possessed by the monasteries the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen; an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expenses of the house. Thus we read of the abbey of Chertsey, in Surrey, which possessed £744 a year, though it contained only fourteen monks. That of Furness, in the county of Lincoln, was valued at £960 a year, and contained about thirty. In order to dissipate their revenues and support their popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner; and besides the poor maintained from their offal, there were many decayed gentlemen who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and entirely subsisted at the tables of the

friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the king, not to give offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

#### MARKETS AND WAGES IN THE TIME OF HENRY VIII.

[From a "*History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth*," by James Anthony Froude, one of the most able historians of the present era. He was born in 1818. Besides the *History of England* just mentioned he has written "*The Nemesis of Faith*" and "*Short Studies on Great Subjects*," of which the latter will best repay perusal.]

Wheat, the price of which necessarily varied, averaged in the middle of the fourteenth century tenpence the bushel, barley averaging at the same time three shillings the quarter. With wheat the fluctuations were excessive. A table of its possible variations describes it as ranging from eighteenpence the quarter to twenty shillings, the average, however, being six and eightpence. When the price was above this sum the merchants might import to bring it down; when it was below this price the farmers were allowed to export to the foreign markets, and the same average continued to hold, with no perceptible tendency to a rise, till the close of the reign of Elizabeth.

Beef and pork were a halfpenny a pound, mutton was three-farthings. They were fixed at these prices by the 3rd of the 24th of Henry VIII. But this act was unpopular both with buyers and with sellers. The old practice had been to sell in the gross, and under that arrangement the rates had been generally lower. Stowe says: "It was this year enacted that butchers should sell their beef and mutton for three farthings, which, being devised for the great commodity of the realm—as it was thought—hath proved far otherwise, for at that time fat oxen were sold for six and twenty shillings and eightpence the piece; fat wethers for three shillings and fourpence the piece; fat calves at a like price, and fat lambs for twelvepence. The butchers of London sold penny pieces of beef for the relief

of the poor, every piece two pounds and a half, sometimes three pounds for a penny, and thirteen and sometimes fourteen of these pieces for twelvepence; mutton eightpence the quarter, and a hundredweight of beef for four shillings and eightpence."

Strong beer, such as we now buy for eighteenpence a gallon, was then a penny a gallon, and table beer less than a halfpenny. French and German wines were eightpence the gallon, Spanish and Portuguese wines a shilling. This was the highest price at which the best wines might be sold, and if there was any fault in quality or quantity, the dealers forfeited four times the amount. Rent, another important consideration, cannot be fixed so accurately, for Parliament did not interfere with it. Here, however, we are not without very tolerable information.

"My father," says Latimer, "was a yeoman, and had no land of his own, only he had a *farm of three or four pounds by the year* at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half-a-dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness with himself and his horse. I remember that I buckled on his harness when he went to Blackheath field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to have preached before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pounds, or twenty nobles each, having brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor: and all this he did off the said farm." If "three or four pounds at the uttermost" was the rent of a farm yielding such results, the rent of labourers' cottages is not likely to have been considerable. I am below the truth, therefore, with this scale of prices in assuming the penny in terms of a labourer's necessities to have been equal in the reign of Henry VIII. to the present shilling. For a penny at the time of which I write the labourer could buy more bread, beef, beer, and wine—he could do more towards finding lodging for himself and family—than the labourer of the nineteenth century can for a shilling. I do not see that this admits of question. Turning, then,



to the table of wages, it will be easy to ascertain his position.

By the 3rd of the 6th of Henry VIII., it was enacted that master carpenters, masons, bricklayers, tylers, plumbers, glaziers, joiners, and other employers of such skilled workmen, should give to each of their journeymen, if no meat or drink was allowed, sixpence a day for half the year, fivepence a day for the other half, or fivepence halfpenny for the yearly average. The common labourers were to receive fourpence a day for half the year, for the remaining half threepence. In the harvest months they were allowed to work by the piece, and might earn considerably more, so that in fact—and this was the rate at which their wages were usually estimated—the day labourer received, on an average, fourpence a day for the whole year. Nor was he in danger, except by his own fault or by unusual accident, of being thrown out of employ; for he was engaged by contract for not less than a year, and could not be dismissed before his term had expired, unless some gross misconduct could be proved against him before two magistrates.

Allowing a deduction of one day in the week for a saint's day or holiday, the labourer received, therefore, steadily and regularly, if well conducted, an equivalent of twenty shillings a week: twenty shillings a week and a holiday, and this is far from being a full account of his advantages! In most parishes (if not in all) there were large ranges of common and unenclosed forest lands which furnished his fuel to him gratis, where pigs might range and ducks and geese; where, if he could afford a cow, he was in no danger of being unable to feed it; and so important was this privilege considered, that when the commons began to be largely enclosed Parliament insisted that the working man should not be without some piece of ground on which he could employ his own and his family's industry. By the 7th of the 31st of Elizabeth it was ordered that no cottage should be built for residence without four acres of land at lowest being attached to it for the sole use of the occupants of such cottage.

## III.—EDWARD VI., 1547—1553.

## HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Edward VI., son of Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, was born at Windsor, October 12, 1537, and crowned at Westminster, February 20, 1547. He died at Greenwich, July 6, 1553, in the sixteenth year of his age and the seventh of his reign, and was buried at Westminster.

2. The duke of Somerset, the young king's uncle, was appointed protector. He led an army into Scotland to enforce the treaty of marriage between Edward and Mary, daughter of James V., who was sent to France, and afterwards married to the Dauphin Francis. The Scotch were defeated in the battle of Pinkie (September 10, 1547).

3. Two years after, the Book of Common Prayer, drawn up by Cranmer and other prelates, was ordered to be read in all the churches, and the marriage of the clergy was permitted.

4. Quarrels followed among the nobility. The brother of the protector was executed for treason, and the protector himself impeached (1549): being implicated in a second charge he was found guilty and beheaded (1552). The duke of Northumberland succeeded him as protector of the kingdom.

5. This nobleman intrigued to place on the throne Lady Jane Grey, the wife of his son, Lord Guildford Dudley, after the king's death. Lady Jane Grey was the granddaughter of Mary, a sister of Henry VIII., who had married Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, after the death of her first husband, Louis XII. of France.

6. The king executed a will in her favour, and died about a month after, at Greenwich. He was possessed of great abilities and a clear understanding, and was sincerely attached to the reformed faith. He was merciful towards those who differed from him in religious views, signing most reluctantly the warrant for the execution of Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was tried and burnt for heresy at the instigation of Cranmer.

## THE BOY-KING'S DEATH AND CHARACTER.

[From the "*History of the Reformation*," by Gilbert Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, who was born in 1643 and died in 1715. This able prelate also wrote an "*Account of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester*," an "*Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*," and the "*History of my Own Times*," giving an account of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, and subsequent events, to as late a date as 1713.]

In the beginning of January, 1553, he was seized with a deep cough, and all medicines that were used did rather increase than lessen it. He was so ill when the Parliament met that he was not able to go to Westminster, but ordered their first meeting and the sermon to be at Whitehall. In the time of his sickness Bishop Ridley preached before him, and took occasion to run out much on works of charity, and the obligation that lay on men of high condition to be eminent in good works. This touched the king to the quick ; so that presently after the sermon he sent for the bishop, and after he had commanded him to sit down by him, and be covered, he resumed most of the heads of the sermon, and said he looked upon himself as chiefly touched by it. He desired him, as he had already given him the exhortation in general, so to direct him to do his duty in that particular. The bishop, astonished at this tenderness in so young a prince, burst forth in tears, expressing how much he was overjoyed to see such inclinations in him ; but told him he must take time to think on it, and craved leave to consult with the lord mayor and court of aldermen. So the king writ by him to them to consult speedily how the poor should be relieved. They considered there were three sorts of poor ; such as were so by natural infirmity or folly, as impotent persons, and madmen or idiots ; such as were so by accident, as sick or maimed persons ; and such as by their idleness did cast themselves into poverty. So the king ordered the Greyfriars' Church, near Newgate, with the revenues belonging to it, to be a house for orphans ; St. Bartholomew, near Smithfield, to be an hospital ; and gave his own house of Bridewell to be a place of correction and work for such as were wilfully idle. He also confirmed and enlarged the grant for the hospital of St. Thomas, in Southwark, which he had erected and endowed in August last (1552). And when he set his hand to these foundations, which was not done before the 5th of June, 1553, he thanked God that had prolonged his life till he had finished that design. So he was the first founder of those houses which, by many great additions, since that time have risen to be amongst the noblest in Europe.

He expressed in the whole course of his sickness great submission to the will of God, and seemed glad at the approaches of death ; only the consideration of religion and the Church touched him much, and upon that account he said he was desirous of life.

His distemper rather increased than abated, so that the physicians had no hope of his recovery : upon which a confident woman came and undertook his cure if he might be put into her hands. This was done, and the physicians were put from him upon this pretence : that they having no hopes of his recovery, in a desperate case desperate remedies were to be applied. This was said to be the duke of Northumberland's advice in particular, and increased the people's jealousy of him when they saw the king grow sensibly worse every day after he came under the woman's care, which becoming so plain she was put from him, and the physicians were again sent for, and took him into their charge. But if they had small hopes before they had none at all now. Death thus hastening on him, the duke of Northumberland, who had done but half his work except he had got the king's sisters in his hands, got the council to write to them in the king's name, inviting them to come and keep him company in his sickness ; but as they were on their way on the 6th of July, his spirits and body were so sunk that he found death approaching, and so he composed himself to die in a most devout manner. His whole exercise was in short prayers and ejaculations. The last that he was heard to use was in these words : " Lord God, deliver me out of this miserable and wretched life, and take me among thy chosen ; howbeit, not my will but thine be done. Lord, I commit my spirit to thee. O Lord, thou knowest how happy it were for me to be with thee ; yet, for thy chosen's sake, send me life and health that I may truly serve thee. O, my Lord God, bless my people, and save thine inheritance ; O, Lord God, save thy chosen people of England ; O, Lord God, defend this realm from papistry and maintain thy true religion, that I and my people may praise thy holy name, for Jesus Christ his sake." Seeing some about him he seemed troubled that they were so near and had heard

him ; but with a pleasant countenance he said he had been praying to God. And soon after, the pangs of death coming upon him, he said to Sir Henry Sidney, who was holding him in his arms, "I am faint ; Lord, have mercy on me and receive my spirit," and so he breathed out his innocent soul.

Thus died King Edward VI., that incomparable young prince. He was then in the sixteenth year of his age, and was counted the wonder of that time. He was not only learned in the tongues, and other liberal sciences, but knew well the state of his kingdom. He kept a book in which he writ the characters that were given him of all the chief men of the nation—all the judges, lords, lieutenants, and justices of the peace over England ; in it he had marked down their way of living, and their zeal for religion. He had studied the matter of the mint, with the exchange and value of money, so that he understood it well, as appears by his journal. He also understood fortification and designed well. He knew all the harbours and ports both of his own dominions and of France and Scotland, and how much water they had, and what was the way of coming into them. He had acquired great knowledge of foreign affairs, so that he talked with the ambassadors about them in such a manner that they filled all the world with the highest opinion of him that was possible ; which appears in most of the histories of that age. He had great quickness of apprehension ; and being mistrustful of his memory, used to take notes of almost everything he heard ; he writ these first in Greek characters, that those about him might not understand them, and afterwards writ them out in his journal. He had a copy brought him of everything that passed in council, which he put in a chest, and kept the key of that always himself.

In a word, the natural and acquired perfections of his mind were wonderful ; but his virtues and true piety were yet more extraordinary. The king was tender and compassionate in a high measure, so that he was much against taking the lives of heretics ; and, therefore, said to Cranmer, when he persuaded him to sign the warrant for the

burning of Joan of Kent, that he was not willing to do it, because he thought that was to send her quick to hell. He expressed great tenderness to the miseries of the poor in his sickness, as hath been already shown. He took particular care of the suits of all poor persons, and gave Dr. Cox special charge to see that their petitions were speedily answered, and used oft to consult with him how to get their matters set forward. He was an exact keeper of his word, and, therefore, as appears by his journal, was most careful to pay his debts and to keep his credit, knowing that to be the chief nerve of government ; since a prince that breaks his faith and loses his credit has thrown up that which he can never recover, and made himself liable to perpetual distrusts and extreme contempt.

He had above all things a great regard to religion. He took notes of such things as he heard in sermons which more especially concerned himself ; and made his measures of all men by their zeal in that matter.

All men who saw and observed these qualities in him looked on him as one raised by God for most extraordinary ends, and when he died concluded that the sins of England had been great that had provoked God to take from them a prince, under whose government they were like to have seen such blessed times. He was so affable and sweet-natured that all had free access to him at all times, by which he came to be most universally beloved ; and all the high things that could be devised were said by the people to express their esteem of him.

#### IV.—MARY, 1553—1558.

##### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Mary, daughter of Henry VIII. and Catherine of Arragon, was born at Greenwich, February 11, 1516, and crowned at Westminster, February 20, 1553. She died at Greenwich, November 17, 1558, in the forty-third year of her life and the sixth of her reign, and was buried at Westminster. She married Philip II. of Spain, son of Charles V., emperor of Germany.

2. On Mary's accession, the proceedings of the former reign with regard to religion were reversed, and the Book of Common

Prayer was suppressed. Northumberland was arrested and beheaded for his attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Cranmer was imprisoned in the Tower, as also were Lady Jane Grey and her husband Lord Guilford Dudley (1553).

3. The people greatly disliked the queen's intended marriage with Philip II. of Spain ; and an insurrection, having for its aim the breaking off of this match, was headed by Sir Thomas Wyatt. Elizabeth, being suspected of complicity with the rising, was arrested and sent to the Tower, and the youthful Lady Jane Grey and her boy-husband were beheaded (1554).

4. Mary having sought a reconciliation with the pope (1555) by the advice of Gardiner, the chancellor, and Bonner, bishop of London, cruelly persecutes the Protestants. Hooper was burned at Gloucester, Ridley and Latimer at Oxford, and Cranmer at Oxford the following year, all being prelates who were sincerely attached to the Reformed faith.

5. Philip, who had quitted England in disgust with the queen shortly after he had married her, returned to persuade her to assist him in a war against France. In this war England lost Calais, which had been an English possession more than 200 years, much to the queen's regret.

6. The loss of Calais was soon followed by the death of Mary, when the persecution of the Protestants in England ceased. Of extreme opinions in matters of religion, she considered the extirpation of heresy, as the Protestant faith was termed, her first duty, and her death was an inexpressible relief to the nation that she sought so earnestly to bring once more under the power of the pope.

#### THE MARTYRDOM OF THE REFORMERS.

[From a "History of England" by Oliver Goldsmith, a man distinguished, perhaps, above any British author for the versatility of his talent and the readiness with which he wrote on any subject which he took up. He was born at Pallas, in the county of Longford, Ireland, November 10, 1728, and died in 1774, in the forty-sixth year of his age. His fame rests principally on his poems, comedies, and his inimitable novel, "The Vicar of Wakefield." Among his poems "The Traveller" and the "Deserted Village" hold the first place ; while his comedies, "The Good Natured Man" and "She Stoops to Conquer" are in the first rank among similar productions. In addition to these and a variety of miscellaneous works, he wrote Histories of England, Greece, and Rome, and a "History of Animated Nature."]

The enemies of the state being thus suppressed, the theatre was now opened for the pretended enemies of religion. The queen being freed from apprehensions of an insurrection, began by assembling a Parliament, which upon this, as upon most occasions, seemed only met to give countenance to her various severities. The nobles, whose only religion was that of the prince who governed, were easily gained over ; and the House of Commons had long been passive under all the variations of regal caprice. But a new enemy had started up against the reformers in the person of the king, who, though he took all possible care to conceal his aversion, yet secretly biassed the queen, and influenced all her proceedings. Philip had for some time been in England, and had used every endeavour to increase the share of power which had been allowed to him by Parliament, but without effect. The queen indeed, who loved him with a foolish fondness that sat but ill upon a person of her years and disagreeable person, endeavoured to please him by every concession she could make or procure ; and finding herself incapable of satisfying his ambition, she was not remiss in concurring with his zeal, so that the heretics began to be persecuted with inquisitorial severity. The old sanguinary laws were now revived ; orders were given that the bishops and priests who had married should be ejected ; that the mass should be restored ; that the pope's authority should be established ; and that the church and its privileges, all but their goods and estates, should be put on the same foundation on which they were before the commencement of the Reformation. As the gentry and nobles had already divided the church lands among them, it was thought inconvenient and indeed impossible to make a restoration of these.

At the head of those who drove such measures forward, but not in an equal degree, were Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and Cardinal Pole, who had lately arrived in England from the continent. Pole, who was nearly allied by birth to the royal family, had always conscientiously adhered to the Catholic religion, and had incurred Henry's displeasure, not only by refusing his assent to his measures, but by writing against him. It was for this adherence



that he was cherished by the pope, and now sent over to England as legate from his holy see. Gardiner was a man of a very different character ; his chief aim was to please the reigning prince, and he had already shown many instances of his prudent conformity. He now perceived that the king and queen were for rigorous measures, and he knew that it would be the best means of paying his court to them even to outgo them in severity. Pole, who had never varied in his principles, declared in favour of toleration. Gardiner, who had often changed, was for punishing those changes in others with the utmost rigour. However, he was too prudent to appear at the head of a persecution in person ; he, therefore, consigned that odious office to Bonner, bishop of London, a cruel, brutal, and ignorant man.

This bloody scene began in 1555, by the martyrdom of Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's. They were examined by commissioners appointed by the queen, with the chancellor at the head of them. It was expected that by their recantation they would bring those opinions into disrepute which they had so long inculcated ; but the persecutors were deceived—they both continued stedfast in their belief, and they were accordingly condemned to be burned, Rogers in Smithfield, and Hooper in his own diocese at Gloucester. Rogers, besides the care of his own preservation, lay under very powerful temptations to deny his principles and save his life, for he had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children ; but nothing could move his resolution. Such was his serenity after condemnation that the jailors, we are told, waked him from a sound sleep on the hour appointed for his execution. He desired to see his wife before he died ; but Gardiner told him that, being a priest, he could have no wife. When the faggots were placed around him, he seemed no way daunted at the preparation, but cried out, "I resign my life with joy in testimony of the doctrine of Jesus !" When Hooper was tied to the stake, a stool was set before him with the queen's pardon upon it in case he should recant ; but he ordered it to be removed, and prepared cheerfully to suffer his sentence, which was

executed in its full severity. The fire, either from malice or neglect, had not been sufficiently kindled ; so that his legs and thighs were first burned, and one of his hands dropped off, while with the other he continued to beat his breast. He was three-quarters of an hour in torture, which he bore with inflexible constancy.

Sanders and Taylor, two other clergymen, whose zeal had been distinguished in carrying out the Reformation, were the next that suffered. Taylor was put into a pitch barrel, and before the fire was kindled a faggot, from an unknown hand, was thrown at his head, which made it stream with blood. Still, however, he continued undaunted, singing the thirty-first psalm in English ; which one of the spectators observing, struck him a blow on the side of the head, and commanded him to pray in Latin. Taylor continued for a few minutes silent, and with his eyes steadfastly fixed upwards, when one of the guards, either through impatience or compassion, struck him down with his halberd, and thus happily put an end to his torments.

The death of these only served to increase the savage appetite of the popish bishops and monks for fresh slaughter. Bonner, bloated at once with rage and luxury, let loose his vengeance without restraint, and seemed to take a pleasure in the pains of the unhappy sufferers, while the queen, by her letters, exhorted him to pursue the pious work without pity or interruption. Soon after, in obedience to her commands, Ridley, bishop of London, and the venerable Latimer, bishop of Worcester, were condemned together.

Ridley had been one of the ablest champions for the Reformation ; his piety, learning, and solidity of judgment were admired by his friends ; and the night before his execution he invited the mayor of Oxford and his wife to see him ; and when he beheld them melted into tears he himself appeared quite unmoved, inwardly supported and comforted in that hour of agony. When he was brought to the stake to be burnt, he found his old friend Latimer there before him. Of all the prelates of that age, Latimer was the most remarkable for his unaffected piety and the simplicity of his manners. He had never learned to flatter in courts ; and his open rebuke was dreaded by all the

great, who at that time too much deserved it. His sermons, which remain to this day, show that he was possessed both of learning and wit, and there was an air of sincerity running through them not to be found elsewhere. When Ridley began to comfort his ancient friend, Latimer, on his part, was as ready to return the kind office. "Be of good cheer, brother," cried he; "we shall this day kindle such a torch in England, as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." A furious bigot ascended to preach to them and the people; Ridley gave a most serious attention to his discourse. No way distracted by the preparations about him, he heard him to the last, and then told him that he was ready to answer all that he had preached upon, if a short indulgence should be permitted; but this was refused him. At length fire was set to the pile. Latimer was soon out of pain; but Ridley continued to suffer much longer, his legs being consumed before the fire reached his vitals.\*

One Thomas Hanks, when conducted to the stake, had agreed with his friends that if he found the torture supportable he would make them a signal for that purpose in the midst of the flames. His zeal for the cause in which he suffered was so strong that when the spectators thought him near expiring, by stretching out his arms he gave his friends the signal that the pain was not too great to be borne. This example, with many others of the like constancy, encouraged multitudes not only to suffer, but even to aspire after martyrdom.

Cranmer's death followed soon after, and struck the whole nation with horror. This prelate, whom we have seen acting so very conspicuous a part in the Reformation during the two preceding reigns, had been long detained a prisoner in consequence of his imputed guilt in obstructing

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\* Full details of the sufferings of these and other martyrs for conscience' sake will be found in Foxe's "Book of Martyrs." In the present day, when all men are free to exercise liberty of opinion in all matters, whether religious or political, it makes us wonder how men could be guilty of such horrible cruelties towards each other for difference of thought and belief in points of faith. But one party, it must be remembered, was not to be blamed more than the other. The spirit of persecution was shown by Protestants and Catholics to an equal degree, as either party obtained the ascendancy.

the queen's succession to the crown. But it was now resolved to bring him to punishment ; and, to give it all its malignity, the queen ordered that he should be punished for heresy rather than for treason. He was accordingly cited by the pope to stand his trial at Rome, and though he was kept a prisoner at Oxford, yet, upon his not appearing, he was condemned as contumacious. But his enemies were not satisfied with his tortures without adding to them the poignancy of self-accusation. Persons were employed to tempt him by flattery and insinuation, by giving him hopes of once more being received into favour, to sign his recantation, in which he acknowledged the doctrines of the papal supremacy and the real presence. His love of life prevailed. In an unguarded moment he was induced to sign this paper, and now his enemies, as we are told of the devil, after having rendered him completely wretched, resolved to destroy him. But it was determined, before they led him out to execution, that they should try to induce him to make a recantation in the church before the people. The unfortunate prelate, either having a secret intimation of their designs, or having recovered the native vigour of his mind, entered the church prepared to surprise the whole audience with a contrary declaration. When he had been placed in a conspicuous part of the church, a sermon was preached by Cole, provost of Eton, in which he magnified Cranmer's conversion as the immediate work of heaven itself. He assured the archbishop that nothing could have been so pleasing to God, the queen, or the people ; he comforted him by intimating that if he should suffer, numberless dirges and masses should be said for his soul ; and that his own confession of faith would still more secure his soul from the pains of purgatory. During the whole rhapsody Cranmer expressed the utmost agony, anxiety, and internal agitation ; he lifted up his eyes to heaven ; he shed a torrent of tears, and groaned with unutterable anguish. He uttered a prayer filled with the most pathetic expressions of horror and remorse. He then said he was well apprised of his duty to his sovereign ; but that a superior duty, the duty which he owed his Maker, obliged him to declare that he had signed a paper contrary to his conscience ; that he

took this opportunity of atoning for his error by a sincere and open recantation ; he was willing, he said, to seal with his blood that doctrine, which he firmly believed to be communicated from heaven, and that as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should undergo the first punishment. The assembly, consisting chiefly of papists, who hoped to triumph in the last words of such a convert, were equally confounded and incensed at this declaration. They called aloud to him to leave off dissembling, and led him forward amidst the insults and reproaches of his audience, to the stake at which Latimer and Ridley had suffered. He resolved to triumph over their insults by his constancy and fortitude ; and the fire beginning to be kindled around him, he stretched forth his right hand, and held it in the flames till it was consumed, while he frequently cried out in the midst of his sufferings, "That unworthy hand !" at the same time exhibiting no appearance of pain or disorder. When the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his tortures ; his mind was occupied wholly upon the hopes of a future reward. After his body was destroyed his heart was found entire—an emblem of the constancy with which he suffered.

#### V.—ELIZABETH, 1558—1603.

##### HISTORICAL EPITOME.

1. Elizabeth (daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn) was born at Greenwich, September 7, 1533, and crowned at Westminster, January 15, 1559. She died at Richmond, March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age and the forty-fifth of her reign, and was buried at Westminster.

2. Once more the Protestant faith gained the ascendant ; the acts of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. were re-established ; and Bonner and others who refused to take the oath of supremacy, acknowledging Elizabeth as head of the Church in England, were imprisoned.

3. In 1630, the Scotch threw off the papal yoke, and many of the people adopted the tenets of Protestantism. This was followed by the death of Francis II. of France, and his queen, afterwards known as Mary, queen of Scots, returned to Scotland.

4. There she married her cousin, Henry Darnley, and from this

union James VI. of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England, was born (1566). Darnley was killed, when lying ill of the smallpox in a house near Holyrood, by an explosion of gunpowder, contrived probably by Bothwell, earl of Orkney (1567), who forcibly carried off the queen and married her the same year.

5. This unhappy marriage was followed by the resignation of the crown to her son, and shortly after this she was imprisoned in Loch Leven Castle. Escaping from that stronghold, she appeared at the head of an army to recover her position in the kingdom, but her troops were routed in the battle of Langside, and (May 14, 1568) Mary was forced to take refuge in England.

6. In 1569, a serious rising of the Roman Catholics in the north of England took place, but it was soon arrested. Affairs in Scotland were now in a very unsettled state, and Murray, the regent, was murdered in open day at Linlithgow (1570).

7. The continental powers intrigued against Elizabeth, who was excommunicated by the pope. A persecution was commenced in France against the French Protestants or Huguenots, and many were killed in the massacre of St. Bartholomew (August 23, 1572). In this year the duke of Norfolk was beheaded for treason, having, it was said, a design on the crown through an intended marriage with Mary, queen of Scots.

8. After the massacre of St. Bartholomew Elizabeth stood forth as the champion of the Protestant faith. She aided the Huguenots in France (1573), and sent assistance to the Netherlands, struggling against the tyranny of Philip II. of Spain, and the inquisition established therein by him (1577). In 1585, she sent a large army into the Netherlands under the earl of Leicester, who suffered defeat before Zutphen.

9. Meanwhile, Elizabeth's hand had been sought in marriage by the duke of Anjou ; but Elizabeth refused him, as she had formerly refused Philip II. of Spain.

10. In 1586, a gentleman named Anthony Babington formed a conspiracy in favour of the imprisoned queen of Scots. It was discovered and frustrated ; and Mary was executed in 1587, at Fotheringhay Castle, on a charge of treason.

11. The English navy, under Sir Francis Drake, Hawkins, and other English admirals of note, had considerably injured the commerce of Spain. For this reason, and with a view to punish Elizabeth for lending aid to his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands, Philip fitted out an expedition against England, to which was given the name of the Invincible Armada (1588).

12. Great preparations were made in England to ward off the impending danger. Storm and tempest harassed the armada on its way. It was attacked in the Channel by the English ships and dispersed. The Spanish fleet, or what remained of it, was driven round the north of Scotland ; some vessels were wrecked on the coast of Ireland ; and but few of the Spanish ships reached Spain in safety.

13. Reprisals were made by Essex on the Spanish coast, and Cadiz was taken and burnt (1597). Essex, being sent to Ireland to put down an insurrection in that country which had been stirred up by the earl of Tyrone, returned without effecting his object (1599).

14. Having tried to excite a revolt in the streets of London, Essex was tried and beheaded for treason. He was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth. She had given him a ring to send to her in token of his need of her aid when in danger : he sent it to the queen by the countess of Nottingham, who, being Essex's secret enemy, never delivered it.

15. The countess of Nottingham confessed her treachery to the queen when on her death-bed. The loss of her favourite preyed heavily on her mind. Elizabeth sank into a state of stupor and listless despondency, and died after a few days' illness, after naming James VI. of Scotland as her successor (1603).

16. Vain and frivolous in many things, and fond of admiration, Elizabeth was possessed of a vigorous mind, energy, and resolution. She was also wise and politic in most of her acts. In her reign England rose in importance among European nations ; while Ireland was brought into a more complete state of subjugation to England. Great improvement was effected in the manufactures of the country by the ingress of emigrants from foreign manufacturing countries, produced by the religious persecutions abroad. The commerce of the country was also greatly increased.

### THE STORY OF THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA.

[*The following account of the greatest event in Elizabeth's eventful reign is taken from the "Plain Englishman." Another account, peculiarly attractive on account of the graphic and picturesque manner in which the story is told, will be found in the "History of the United Netherlands," by John Lothrop Motley. The destruction of the Armada is also vigorously described in Canon Kingsley's "Westward Ho."*]

The spirit of bigotry and tyranny by which Philip II. of Spain, formerly wedded to Mary, queen of England, was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims which governed his counsels, excited the most violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the greatest cruelty, and threw all Europe into alarm. He had long harboured a secret and violent desire of revenge against Queen Elizabeth, to execute which he formed the plan of an invasion of England, by fitting out his Invincible Armada.

Many circumstances contributed to his hatred of Elizabeth. The rejection of his hand on the death of her sister ; her support of the Protestant cause ; the great and decisive part that she embraced to prevent his oppression of the Netherlands ; and her successes in Spanish America. These circumstances excited the jealousy of Philip, and induced him to believe that, by her subjection, he should acquire the renown of reuniting the whole Christian world in the Catholic communion. At this period Spain was rich and populous. Philip had lately annexed the kingdom of Portugal to his dominions.

All the princes of Italy, even the pope and the court of Rome, were reduced to a kind of subjection under him, and seemed to possess their sovereignty on terms somewhat precarious. The Austrian branch in Germany, with its dependent principalities, was closely connected with him, and was ready to supply him with troops for every enterprise.

Three years had been spent by Philip in secretly making great preparations for this enterprise. The project indeed was formed after the queen of Scots had been persuaded to make over to him her right to England, as being the only plan to restore there the Catholic religion. Besides this vague right, conveyed by will, he thought he might justly claim the crown of England as being the next Catholic prince descended by the female line from the duke of Lancaster, fourth son of Edward III. Pope Sixtus IV., not less ambitious than Philip, excited him to the invasion of England. He again excommunicated the queen. All the ports of Spain resounded with preparations for this alarming expedition ; and the Spaniards seemed to threaten



the English with a total annihilation. The fleet which, on account of its prodigious strength, was called the "Invincible Armada," was completed in 1588.

The English fleet at this time consisted only of twenty-eight sail, most of which were very small vessels; but the alacrity of Elizabeth's subjects sufficiently atoned for the weakness of her navy. The maritime towns and the nobility and gentry testified the greatest zeal on this occasion. The city of London fitted out thirty ships, though fifteen only had been required. The gentry and nobility levied and armed forty-three ships at their own expense. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of great courage and capacity, was lord admiral, and took upon him the command of the navy. Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. The main fleet was stationed at Plymouth; while a smaller fleet, consisting of forty vessels, under the command of Lord Seymour, lay off Dunkirk, in order to intercept the forces commanded by the duke of Parma.

Twenty thousand land forces were cantoned along the southern coast of England; another body of disciplined troops encamped at Tilbury, near the mouth of the Thames, under the command of the earl of Leicester, whom the queen, on this occasion, created general-in-chief of all her forces; and Lord Hunsden commanded a third army, consisting of thirty thousand men, for the defence of her majesty's person, and to march to that part of the coast on which the enemy might make their chief landing.

The chief hopes of Elizabeth were placed in the affections of her people. Party distinctions were forgotten, and every man exerted himself in the defence of his country.

The magnanimity of Elizabeth was remarkable on this trying occasion. She appeared on horseback in the camp of Tilbury, harangued her army, and expressed an entire confidence in their loyalty and courage. The following was her truly noble speech on this occasion:—

"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful

and loving people. Let tyrants fear. I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects. And, therefore, I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation or sport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all ; to lay down, for my God and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust.

"I know I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman ; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too ; and I think it foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms ; to which rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field.

"I know already by your forwardness that you have deserved rewards and crowns ; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you.

"In the meantime my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble and worthy subject ; not doubting by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

The Armada was some time prevented from sailing by the death of the marquis of Santa Cruz. The duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman of great family, but wholly unacquainted with maritime affairs, was appointed admiral in his room. This interval was employed by Elizabeth in making new preparations for rendering the design abortive.

At length the invincible fleet sailed from Lisbon on the 29th of May ; but being overtaken with a dreadful tempest it was obliged to put into the Groyne, having received considerable damage.

After a delay of two months the Armada sailed once more to prosecute the intended enterprise. The fleet consisted of one hundred and thirty ships, of which near one hundred were galleons, and of a greater burden than had ever before appeared on the coast of England.

The Armada advanced towards Plymouth. It was disposed in the form of a half moon, and stretched to the distance of seven leagues from the extremity of one division to the other. But this appearance dismayed not the English: they knew these huge vessels were so ill-constructed and so difficult to be managed that they would not be able to support themselves against the repeated attacks of ships at a distance.

Two of the largest ships in the Spanish fleet were soon after taken by Sir Francis Drake; and while the enemy advanced slowly up the Channel, the English followed their rear and harassed them with perpetual skirmishes. The Spaniards now began to abate in their confidence of success; the design of attacking the English navy in Plymouth was laid aside, and they directed their course towards Calais.

The Armada, after many losses, came to an anchor before Calais, in the expectation of being joined by the prince of Parma; but before that general could embark his troops all hopes of success vanished by a stratagem of the English admiral. He filled eight of his small ships with combustible materials, and setting them on fire, sent them, one after another, into the midst of the enemy's fleet. Terrified at this appearance, the Spaniards cut their cables and betook themselves to flight in a very precipitous and disorderly manner. In the midst of this confusion the English fell upon them with such fury that twelve of their largest ships were taken and several others were thoroughly damaged.

The ambitious Spaniards were now convinced that their scheme was entirely frustrated, and would willingly have abandoned the enterprise and returned immediately to their ports could they have done it with safety; but this was impossible: the wind was contrary, and the only chance of escaping was that of making a tour of the whole island and reaching at last the Spanish harbours by the ocean; but a violent storm soon overtook them, and completed the destruction of the Invincible Armada. Not half the vessels returned to the ports of Spain.

Of the Armada there were taken and destroyed in the Channel, 15 ships and 4,791 men: and on the coast of

Ireland, 17 ships and 5,394 men; in all 32 ships and 10,185 men.

### THE END OF THE LAST OF THE TUDORS.

[From a "*History of England*," by David Hume. For biographical notice see page 64.]

The earl of Essex, after his return from the fortunate expedition against Cadiz, observing the increase of the queen's fond attachment towards him, took occasion to regret that the necessity of her service required him often to be absent from her person, and exposed him to all those ill offices which his enemies, more assiduous in their attendance, could employ against him. She was moved with this tender jealousy; and making him the present of a ring desired him to keep that pledge of her affection, and assured him that into whatever disgrace he should fall, whatever prejudices she might be induced to entertain against him, yet if he sent her that ring she would immediately, upon the sight of it, recall her former tenderness, would afford him a patient hearing, and would lend a favourable ear to his apology.

Essex, notwithstanding all his misfortunes, reserved this precious gift to the last extremity; but after his trial and condemnation he resolved to try the experiment, and he committed the ring to the countess of Nottingham, whom he desired to deliver it to the queen. The countess was prevailed on by her husband, the mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission, and Elizabeth, who still expected that her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, and who ascribed the neglect of it to his invincible obstinacy, was, after much delay and many internal combats, pushed by resentment and policy to sign the warrant for his execution. The countess of Nottingham, falling into sickness, and affected with the near approach of death, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret.

The queen, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion: she shook the dying countess in her bed;

and crying to her that God might pardon her, but she never could, she broke from her, and thenceforth resigned herself to the deepest and most incurable melancholy. She rejected all consolation ; she refused even food and sustenance ; and throwing herself on the floor she remained sullen and immovable, feeding her thoughts on her afflictions, and declaring life and existence an insufferable burden to her. Few words she uttered, and they were all expressive of some inward grief which she cared not to reveal ; but sighs and groans were the chief vent which she gave to her despondency, and which, though they discovered her sorrows, were never able to ease or assuage them.

Ten days and nights she lay upon the carpet, leaning on cushions, which her maids brought her, and her physicians could not persuade her to allow herself to be put to bed, much less to make trial of any remedies which they prescribed to her. Her anxious mind at last had so long preyed on her frail body that her end was visibly approaching ; and the council being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered with a faint voice, that as she had held a regal sceptre she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself, she subjoined that she would have a king to succeed her, and who should that be but her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots. Being then advised by the archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied that she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from Him. Her voice soon after left her ; her senses failed ; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours ; and she expired gently without further struggle or convulsion (March 24, 1603), in the seventieth year of her age and forty-fifth of her reign.

So dark a cloud overcast the evening of that day which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies and the adulation of friends than Queen Elizabeth ; and yet there is scarcely any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. The unusual length of administration and the strong

features of her character were able to overcome all prejudices ; and obliging her detractors to abate much of their invectives, and her admirers somewhat of their panegyrics, have at last, in spite of political factions, and, what is more, of religious animosities, produced a uniform judgment with regard to her conduct. Her vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, and address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne : a conduct less vigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess. Her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition. She guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities ; the rivalry of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

Her singular talents for government were founded equally on her temper and on her capacity. Endowed with a great command over herself she soon obtained an uncontrolled ascendant over her people ; and while she merited all their esteem by her real virtues she also engaged their affections by her pretended ones. Few sovereigns of England succeeded to the throne in more difficult circumstances, and none ever conducted the government with such uniform success and felicity. Though unacquainted with the practice of toleration, the true secret for managing religious factions, she preserved her people by her superior prudence from those confusions in which theological controversy had involved all the neighbouring nations ; and though her enemies were the most powerful princes of Europe, the most active, the most enterprising, the least scrupulous, she was able by her vigour to make deep impressions on their states ; her own greatness, meanwhile, remained untouched and unimpaired. The wise ministers and brave warriors who flourished under her reign share the praise of her success ; but, instead of lessening the applause due to

her, they make great addition. They owed all of them their advancement to her choice ; they were supported by her constancy, and with all their abilities they were never able to acquire any undue ascendant over her. In her family, in her court, in her kingdom, she remained equally mistress ; the force of the tender passions was great over her, but the force of her mind was still superior ; and the combat which her victory visibly cost her, serves only to display the firmness of her resolution and the loftiness of her ambitious sentiments.

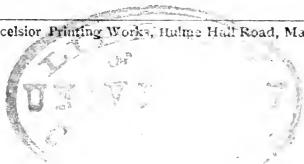
The fame of this princess, though it has surmounted the prejudices both of faction and bigotry, yet lies still exposed to another prejudice which is still more durable because more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we survey her, is capable either of exalting beyond measure or diminishing the lustre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the consideration of her sex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be struck with the highest admiration of her great qualities and extensive capacity ; but we are also apt to require some more softness of disposition, some greater lenity of temper—some of those amiable weaknesses by which her sex is distinguished.

But the true method of estimating her merit is to lay aside all these considerations, and consider her merely as a rational being placed in authority and intrusted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a mistress ; but her qualities as a sovereign, though with some considerable exceptions, are the object of undisputed applause and approbation.

#### SUMMARY OF SOVEREIGNS OF THE TUDOR DYNASTY.

Name.	Date of Acces.	Name.	Date of Acces.
1. Henry VII.....	1485	4. Mary .....	1553
2. Henry VIII. ....	1509	5. Elizabeth .....	1558
3. Edward VI.....	1547	CLOSE OF THE TUDOR DYNASTY, 1603	

THE END.







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